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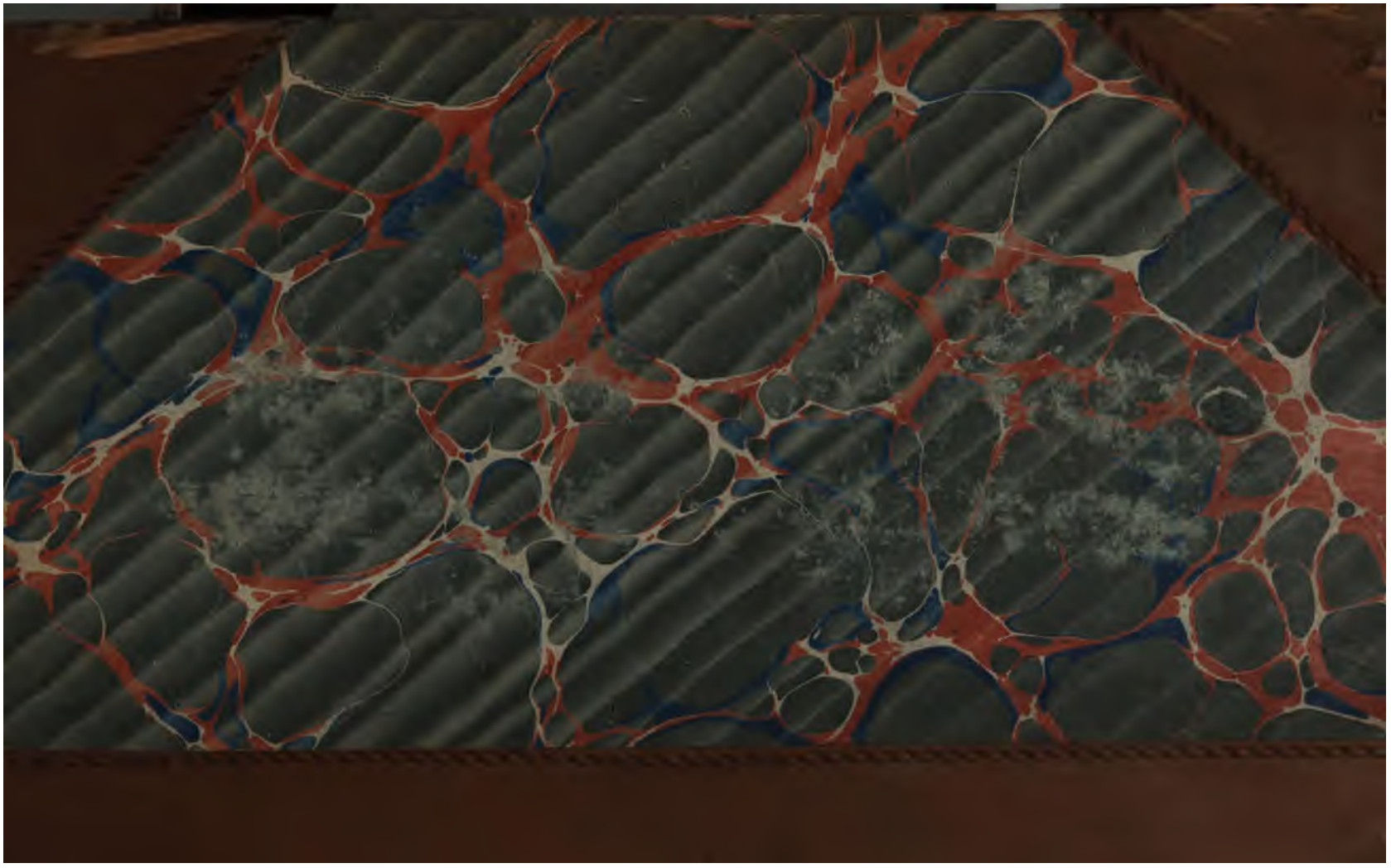
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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.,

1760,

TO

THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA,

1837.

By the Rev. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.,

CANON OF PETERBOROUGH.

BEING THE COMPLETION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR, TO THE PRESENT REIGN.

THIRD EDITION,

WITH THE AUTHOR'S CORRECTIONS, IMPROVEMENTS, AND ENLARGEMENT.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1791.

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Trial of Warren Hastings.

As the house of commons last session had disposed of a question regarding the trial of Mr. Hastings, which involved one of its important rights, Mr. Burke, on the fourteenth of February, brought forward a motion to shorten that trial, the long duration of which began to be considered as a hardship on the accused. 'Though,' said the honorable gentleman, 'it has pleased God, in the fixed and unalterable course of human affairs, to decree that injustice should be rapid, and justice slow; yet I am determined, to the utmost of my power, to remove every just cause of complaint.' His proposal, therefore, was, 'that the managers be

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instructed to proceed with no other parts of the impeachment, except such as relate to contracts, pensions, and allowances;' and this was carried without a division: but the resolution of the commons, that an impeachment did not cease with the dissolution of parliament, was strongly contested in the house of lords. On a message from the commons, that they were ready to proceed with the evidence, a committee was appointed to search for precedents, which occasioned a suspension of the business till nearly the end of the session: at length, the report being made, a motion of lord Porchester, on the sixteenth of May, 'that their lordships do now proceed with the trial,' was carried by a decisive majority: the prosecution closed its evidence on the thirtieth; and the managers proposed an address to the king, praying him not to prorogue parliament until the trial was finished; but this was negatived. After the prosecution was concluded, Mr. Hastings addressed the court in a speech of great acuteness, force, and eloquence, exhibiting his view of the result; and, having contrasted the situation in which he found our Eastern possessions with that in which he left them, he appealed to his accusers in the following energetic peroration:—

'To the commons of England, in whose name I am arraigned for desolating the provinces of India, I dare to reply, that they are, and their representatives persist in telling them so, the most florishing of all the states of India: it was I who made them so: the value of what others acquired, I enlarged; giving shape and consistency to the dominion which you hold there. I preserved it: I sent forth its armies, with an effectual but economical hand, through unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your other possessions; to the retrieval of one from dishonor and degradation, and of another from utter loss and subjection: I maintained the wars which were of your formation, or that of others, not of mine: I won one member of the great Indian confederacy from it by an act of seasonable restitution; with another I maintained secret

intercourse, and converted him into a friend; a third I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace: I gave you all; and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment.' After this plea of general merit, in extenuation of specific charges, the defence of the accused was postponed, by direction of the court, till the following session.

Dispute with Russia.

When our dispute with Spain was settled, another important subject of foreign politics engaged the attention of parliament: for Mr. Pitt, with a penetration not inferior to that of his illustrious father, foresaw the future augmentation of the colossal empire of the north, and the consequent danger arising thence to the general interests of Europe. At the congress of Reichenbach, the defensive alliance had proposed to Russia that she should accede to the peace which they were negotiating with Austria; and that all conquests should be restored: but Catharine constantly refused to admit of any interference between her and Turkey: being, however, deprived of her ally, she saw the impracticability of subjugating that power for the present; and accordingly offered to restore all her acquisitions, except the city and dependencies of Oczakow, a very important place, commanding the mouth of the Dnieper, at a distance of less than 200 miles from the Turkish capital. Finding pacific negotiations unavailing, the allies projected a more effectual interference; and his Britannic majesty, on the twenty-fourth of March, sent a message to parliament, demanding an augmentation of his naval force: on this occasion, Fox and other members of opposition strongly deprecated the latitude of construction given to defensive alliances in general, as well as any hostile interference on our part, for the purpose of seconding the ambitious policy of Prussia, in whose intrigues and projects we had lately become too much involved. 'What injury,' it was asked, 'had we received from Russia? were all the advantages of our immense trade with that empire to be sacrificed for the sake of a Turkish fortress? and could wisdom or

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policy justify Great Britain in going to war to preserve a barbarian power, which, for the sake of religion, humanity, and civilisation, ought to be utterly extirpated ?'

Ministers, on the other hand, argued, that the aggrandisement of Russia and depression of Turkey would injure both our commercial and political interests; while the possession of Oczakow in particular would facilitate the acquisition, not only of Constantinople, but of Alexandria and Lower Egypt: the resistance now made to the encroachment of Russia tallied with our general policy in continental interference,—that of maintaining the balance of power.

Several resolutions were moved against the armament, which, however, were rejected; although the eloquence of Fox, coinciding with the immediate interests of mercantile men, rendered the people in general adverse to the notion of a Russian war; so that ministers, feeling a due and constitutional respect for the popular voice, forbore to press their measures: but although England was thus prevented from compelling Russia to restore the key of Turkey, yet the energy displayed by the defensive alliance induced Catharine to relinquish her other acquisitions made during the war.

Slave trade abolition bill.

The evidence on the slave trade being closed, Mr. Wilberforce now brought forward his long-expected motion to prevent the farther importation of negroes into British plantations; which he introduced by copious and convincing arguments in its favor, grounded on the principles of justice, humanity, and christianity. On this question, Pitt and Fox took the same side, in support of the abolition; but mercantile illiberality still prevailed; the planters in the West Indies contending that they could not cultivate the islands without frequent additions to the old stock of negroes. Much stress was also laid on the effects which the abolition would have on our navy; the authority of lord Rodney being brought forward, and confirmed by that of other eminent commanders; who had declared that the power of obtaining from Guinea ships men

inured to the climate, if there should be a neccssity for sending a fleet to the West Indies at the commencement of a war, was a consideration of great moment: the motion was accordingly negatived by a majority of seventy-five votes: but the advocates of humanity completed at this time an establishment of the Sierra Leone company, by which they proposed to introduce free labor and christianity into Africa; a bill for which purpose was introduced by Mr. Henry Thornton, and carried through both houses without opposition.

Ministers had long contemplated improvement in our Canadian government; and a bill was now framed, to form two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, and to establish distinct legislatures; the division being meant to separate those parts which were chiefly inhabited by French Canadians from the more recent settlers. For each province there was to be a legislative council, either hereditary, or for life, at the option of his majesty; with a provincial assembly, to be chosen by freeholders for seven years, and to be assembled at least once a year; the governor, representing the sovereign, might refuse his sanction to any proposal of a law, until the final determination of Great Britain should be known: the British government also gave up its right of taxation, asserting only that of regulating external commerce. This bill passed through both houses without any material alterations; though Fox considered it as not sufficiently agreeing with those principles of liberty, which seemed to be now hastening into general adoption: he also took occasion, when Burke was not present, of censuring some of the principal doctrines in that gentleman's late publications; nor did he hesitate to question the utility of hereditary power and titles, concluding with a sneer at 'ribbons red and blue.'[1]

Quarrel between Fox and Burke.

Mr. Burke naturally considered this as an indirect challenge to him by his old associate; and when the bill was recommitted on the sixteenth of May, he rose to state his sentiments in reply: in adverting, however, to the French constitution by name, and the unhappy

[1] See Prior's Life of Burke, vol. ii. p. 138.

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scenes with which it was connected, he was loudly and frequently called to order from the opposition benches; the other side of the house as vehemently maintaining that he was in order; while the shouts and cries and gestures of contending parties presented a scene only to be paralleled in the political assemblies of a neighboring country. At length, an express vote of censure against him for noticing the affairs of France was moved by lord Sheffield, and seconded by Fox: but Pitt, after urging the point of order in his favor, declared that he was grateful to the right honorable gentleman for the manly struggle made by him against French principles; that his views should receive support from him whenever the danger approached; and that his zeal and eloquence in such a cause intitled him to the gratitude of all his fellow-subjects. Fox followed in a vehement address of alternate rebuke and compliment; while he vindicated his own opinions, questioned the consistency of his right honorable friend, whom he must ever esteem as his master, though he seemed to have forgotten the lessons of his own teaching.

There appeared to Mr. Burke such premeditation and want of generosity in this proceeding, that he rose to reply under the strong influence of excited feelings; though there is reason to suppose that he himself had for some time contemplated a renunciation of his connexion with Mr. Fox. After discussing the main question, he complained of being treated with unaccountable harshness and malignity; of being personally attacked from a quarter where he least expected it, after an intimacy of more than twenty-two years; of his public sentiments and writings being garbled, and his confidential communications violated, to color an unjust charge: he added, that although at his time of life it might be indiscreet to provoke enemies or to lose friends, yet, if his steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a situation, he would risk all; and as public duty taught him, with his last breath exclaim,—'Fly from the French constitution.' Fox here whispered, that there was no loss of friend-

ship. 'Yes,' said Burke, 'there was a loss of friendship; he knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty at the price of a friend; their connexion was at an end.' He concluded with an eloquent apostrophe to the two great heads of their respective parties; exhorting them, whatever might be their general differences, steadfastly to guard the sacred edifice of the British constitution against innovation and new theories.

This public and pointed renunciation of long intimacy so affected Fox, that when he rose to reply, he was for some time unable to give utterance to his speech: at length, he found relief in tears; and then, after touching on the bill and French affairs, he burst into an eloquent appeal to his old and revered friend; to the remembrance of their past attachment; to their reciprocal affection, as dear, and almost as binding, as that between father and son: seldom had there been heard in the house so pathetic and personal an address; yet even in this ebullition of sensibility, the pertinacity of the disputant contended so strongly with the feelings of the man, that he gave utterance to several bitter sarcasms, and reiterated some of his objectionable remarks: rejoinders on both sides followed, without the interposition of more amicable sentiments; and the connexion between these illustrious men was dissolved for ever.[2]

In the cause of this disunion, there were circumstances which made it impossible for them ever again to act together: the dispute was not about some trivial affair, or speculative topic; but a great constitutional question, full of irritating matter, and involving in its consequences the very existence of the constitution; one which agitated all persons, and which met parliamentary statesmen at every turn in debate: besides, it was one on which, from the first, each seemed to have staked his reputation for political wisdom against the other; 'Mr. Fox,' as it has been observed, 'with all the enthusiasm of a generous,

[2] Mr. Burke as it would appear, from principle, refused, even on his death-bed, to see Mr. Fox, though he declared 'that he was a man born to be loved.'

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confiding, and unwary man; Mr. Burke, with the penetration of a profound philosopher, and the calculating sagacity of a practical statesman:'[3] in such a case, no reconciliation could have lasted long. This rupture excited at the time an extraordinary interest; and was followed by very important results: the opposition instantly saw in it a considerable diminution of that consequence which they had hitherto enjoyed as a body; and in their indignation against Burke, attributed his secession from their ranks either to splenetic ill-humor at the superior influence of Fox and Sheridan, who rejected his dictation; or to a desire of joining that party, whose political power he saw firmly established, and which was the distributer of those pecuniary rewards that afterwards fell to his lot.[4]

The next measure which engaged parliamentary attention was a bill for empowering juries to try the question of law as well as fact, in prosecutions for libel: a similar bill had been introduced in 1771 by Mr. Dowdeswell, but drawn up by Burke, the moving spirit of his party, and supported by him in a most eloquent and able speech: it then received, however, only hollow support from his own friends, and was resisted by the ministry; among whom Fox spoke pointedly against it. At the present moment, however, that statesman sagaciously, though not very consistently, seized on this bill as a prop to his failing popularity: it was now debated, not as a party question, but as a constitutional right; and having obtained the vigorous support of Pitt and Erskine, it passed the commons with a large majority. In the upper house, lord Grenville supported the measure with no less zeal than lord Loughborough; and the excellent lord

[3] Prior's Life of Burke, vol. ii. p. 145.

[4] Having been taunted with a desertion of his principles; and a paragraph having appeared in the Morning Chronicle, stating that the great body of the whig party had decided on the late dispute in favor of the purer tenets of Mr. Fox; he published, towards the end of the summer, his celebrated pamphlet, styled 'An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs,' to show that his doctrines were in perfect coincidence with the allowed standard of correctness; and that the French revolution was not a transient evil, but one productive of worse evils to come.

Camden took the lead in its favor: it was, however, so strongly opposed, as an innovation on the laws of the kingdom, now agitated with the dangerous maxims of our neighbors, that it was rejected by their lordships; though in the following session it was again proposed, and passed into a law.

Catholic relief bill.

Another and a successful measure, supported by that illustrious trio, Pitt, Burke, and Fox, was Mr. Mitford's bill, to exempt protesting catholic dissenters from the penal statutes, on taking an oath conformable to their protest. A considerable body of these religionists had recently protested in express terms against doctrines imputed to their body: they had denied the pope's temporal authority, and his right to excommunicate princes, or to absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance; they also disavowed the lawfulness of breaking faith with heretics, and the power claimed by their priests, of exempting men from moral obligations. The principle of this bill was generally approved, and the bench of bishops displayed a liberal zeal in its favor: Dr. Horsley especially exerted his great abilities, not only in promoting its success, but in accommodating the words of the oath to the scruples of Romanists; who felt a strong reluctance to brand the memory of their ancestors with the charge of damnable heresy and impiety.

The church of Scotland, perceiving a disposition in parliament to relieve nonconformists, transmitted from the general assembly a petition, praying for a repeal of the test act, as applicable to that country. On the tenth of May, sir Gilbert Elliott made a motion according to the tenor of this document; the supporters of which endeavored, but ineffectually, to prove that the law, as it stood, was inconsistent with the articles of union: the petition was discovered to have been sent principally at the instigation of English dissenters, who represented themselves to the church of Scotland as presbyterian brethren; and the bill founded on it was rejected by a large majority.

On the twelfth of May, Mr. Burke gave a proof

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that he was not indifferent to the principles of real liberty and reform, by his eloquent support of Mr. Grey's motion for a committee to inquire into the effects of imprisonment for debt; a blemish, as he observed, in our law, which produced all the effects of abject slavery: and the legislature of the present day, by passing the insolvent act, seems to have adopted the spirit of his sentiments.

Financial measures.

Previously to the introduction of his financial scheme, Pitt proposed the appointment of a committee to inquire what had been the amount of income and expenditure during the last five years, and what they might be expected to be in future; also what alterations had occurred in the amount of national debt since the fifth of January, 1786. From a report made to the house, on the tenth of May, it appeared that the average annual produce of taxes for the last five years had exceeded the estimate by about £80,000; that all the expenses of the same period, amounting to £88,000,000, exclusive of the armament of 1790, for which a special provision was made, had been defrayed by the annual income and sums received from extraordinary resources, with the addition of £1,000,000 raised by a tontine, and of £187,000 by short annuities; that, according to the most correct estimate that could now be made, the annual income of the country would in future exceed the expenses of a peace establishment by £62,000; that £3,822,003 had been applied to the reduction of the national debt, above the sums by which it had been increased; and that the stocks purchased by the commissioners up to February 1, 1791, amounted to £6,772,350. This satisfactory report fully confirmed all the declarations made by Mr. Pitt respecting the financial state of the country; and when he opened the budget on the eighteenth of May, he was enabled to provide for the services of the year, which required £5,728,000, without a loan or any additional taxes.

Parliament was prorogued on the tenth of June; when the king, in his speech, applauded the zeal with

which the two houses had applied themselves to the different objects of deliberation, and expressed his satisfaction at the measures they had adopted.

The Indian war was carried on vigorously by lord Cornwallis: but his plans for the subjugation of Tippoo Saib were not yet ripe for execution. Over the greater part of Europe, the rustling of that storm, which soon shook the ancient system to its centre, was beginning to be heard; and the two antagonist principles of despotic power and democratic violence were already in action at its extremities. In Poland, the king and the states cordially agreed in a revolution now going on there; because the leading men exerted their talents to rescue that country from anarchy, by instituting a wise and constitutional form of government: all the other princes of Europe seemed to approve the plan, except the autocratic empress, whose ambitious designs it was calculated to resist: she instantly commenced intrigues, which succeeded in crushing it; and the nation soon fell back into its former state of degradation. In France the power of revolutionary clubs, those dire allies of democracy, was rising to a fearful height: associations of the moderate party and of the royalists were too inconsiderable to act as a counterpoise; while the jacobins went on, increasing in number and violence, until they overturned the government, and sent forth those sanguinary despots, who established the reign of terror.

Progress of the French revolution.

The increasing emigration of the nobles augmented distrust and suspicion in the people: the heads of the principal families in France repaired to Coblentz, where a large concourse of men assembled, who made no secret of their intention to regain their rights by the sword; their inability for action being only equalled by the presumption of their language. The decree for confiscating their estates was set aside for the present by the eloquent voice of Mirabeau, whose aim seemed to be that of repairing the havoc which he had contributed to make in the social system: but neither his brilliant talents, nor his assumed virtues, could now have resisted the tide of popular ambition; and death

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cut him short at the most splendid period of his existence, when he was about to undertake the glorious task of healing the wounds of his country. His loss was severely felt by the royal party; as he had formed a plan to free the king from that thraldom in which he was held by the populace, whom even la Fayette was unable to control: the subsequent flight of the royal family, and its unfortunate issue at Varennes, re-excited all the evil passions of a Parisian mob; the jacobins and cordeliers loudly demanded the king's death; and the grand insurrection of the seventeenth of July was planned, which la Fayette, at the head of the national guards, vigorously and wisely dispersed: at that moment the revolutionary storm was stayed; and if the existing government had possessed energy enough to act against those retreats of sedition, the clubs of jacobins and cordeliers, the monarchy might perhaps have been preserved: but indecision characterised the national assembly; recollection of the past inclining them to popular measures, and dread of the future disposing them to constitutional principles: in their efforts however to please different factions, they acquired an ascendency over none; but left the monarchy a prey to furious passions which agitated the people: the termination of their own legislative labors, and their consequent dissolution, were now approaching; the several committees had made their reports; and nothing remained but to combine the decrees regarding the constitution into one act, and submit it to the king for his sanction: before this was done, however, the assembly, on the motion of Robespierre, passed a measure, matchless in absurdity, if it had not been predetermined for the purpose of evil, declaring that none of its members should be capable of re-election: and on this occasion the misguided royalists agreed with the jacobins, owing to an idea prevalent among them, that a change had taken place in the public mind; and that if an assembly could be returned at the next election, from which the old members were excluded, it would undo all that had been done.

The result of this fatal step was to draw the representation of the people into a still lower grade of society; and so effectually was it done, that of 758 members, constituting the legislative assembly not more than fifty were possessed of property to the value of £100 per annum: thus ignorance, passion, and inexperience became united in the new council, and popular supremacy made rapid progress.

The assembly opened its sittings on the first of October: the court and nobles had exercised no sort of influence on the elections; for the authority of the first was in abeyance; and the latter, after vainly opposing every species of improvement, had deserted their country at the most critical period in its annals: hence, among the parties that constituted the present legislature,[5] none were attached to the regal or aristocratical interests. When the king first met the new assembly, they treated him with a premeditated mark of disrespect by sitting in his presence: the only question that remained, was the maintenance or overthrow of the constitutional throne; nor was it long before this was determined.

Two hostile parties threatened the present order of things; the emigrants collected on the frontier; and the discontented priesthood, whose members were scattered through the realm: the former had the tacit support of European courts, and almost the avowed

[5] These were, 1. the *feuillants*, or constitutionalists, so called from the club which formed the centre of their power; their leaders being Barnave, Duport, Damas, and Vaublanc: the national guard, the army, and the magistrates of the departments were generally in their interest; but they had not in their ranks the brilliant orators that formed the strength of their adversaries. 2. The Girondists, so called from the district whence the most able of the party were elected, comprehended the republicans of the assembly, under their splendid leaders, Vergnaud, Gaudet, Gensonne, Isnard, Brissot, and others, who longed after institutions formed on the model of antiquity: they were, in general, men of honest intentions; indeed, too honest to resist the attacks of a party, who soon set the arts of popularity against the principles of philosophy, and became adepts in the infernal means of exciting the multitude. The leaders of the third party, of anarchists, in the assembly, were Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, supported by the clubs of the jacobins and cordeliers; in the first of which, Robespierre, Billaud Varrennes, and Collot d'Herbois ruled absolutely; and in the second, Danton, Carrier, Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine. Robespierre, though excluded from the assembly by his own ordinance, had acquired undisputed sway over the jacobins. In the fauxbourg St. Antoine, the well-known Santerre was equally powerful; while the municipality of Paris, elected by universal suffrage, had fallen into the hands of the most violent demagogues, who were able to rouse at pleasure the whole strength of the capital.

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alliance of Austria; the latter were in communication with the emigrants, and were exciting the peasantry of France to revolt: the assembly, in retaliation, passed two decrees; one confiscating the estates of all emigrants who should continue in hostile array on the frontier beyond the first of January; another ordaining measures of like rigor against those priests who should refuse the oath binding them to the constitution, and should continue to excite agitation. The king, by a power vested in him, made the first use of his *veto* in suspending these decrees; at which the rage of the revolutionists knew no bounds: unable, therefore, to attack the monarch directly, they turned their resentment against the existing ministers, whom Louis had chosen from the party of constitutionalists; and Delessart, secretary for foreign affairs, being accused of betraying the interests of France, in his correspondence with European courts, was sent for trial before the high court then sitting at Orleans: thus the party, having lost its influence in the senate, as well as in the municipality, (for Petion had succeeded to Bailly as mayor, and la Fayette had resigned his command of the national guard) was soon driven from the helm; Girondists and Jacobins uniting to complete its ruin.

It was in the debates excited by this question, and by the threatened interference of foreign sovereigns who entered into coalition at Pilnitz[6] on the twentieth of July, that Isnard, a Girondist, and deputy of Provence, fulminated against them that eloquent oration, which soon resounded through all the courts of Europe. 'They would bring back,' said he, 'our *noblesse!* If all the nobles of the earth assail us, with their gold in one hand and their swords in the other, the French people will combat that imperious race, and force it to endure the penalty of equality. Let us,' said he, in conclusion, 'declare to Europe, that if this nation draws the sword, it will throw away the scabbard, and seek it not again till crowned with the laurels of vic-

[6] The Swedish monarch Gustavus first took and gave the alarm; he and Frederic of Prussia were anxious to support the king of France in all his ancient authority; but Leopold of Austria wished to conciliate the nation, and retain for Louis only such power as would secure him on the throne.

tory; that if cabinets engage kings in a war against the people, we will rouse the people to mortal strife with sovereigns.' Thus, while war was at first deprecated by the Jacobins, who dreaded alike to see the enemy or their own generals victorious, it was clamorously demanded by the Girondists, who sought to spread far and wide the glory of their country; and had already conceived that bold project of extensive conquest, which was realised by Napoleon. The king was driven to choose a ministry from this party; of which the two principal characters were Roland, a stern republican, unostentatious in manners, unambitious in disposition; and Dumouriez, a revolutionary general: the former of whom was made minister for the interior, the latter for foreign affairs.[7] Dumouriez had many qualities of a great man; abilities, enterprise, activity, fertility of resources, and confidence in his own fortune; but these were counterbalanced by others of an opposite tendency; for he was fickle and inconsiderate; he adopted measures too hastily to ensure success; and veering about with all changes of the times, he wanted the ascendency of a powerful, as well as the weight of a virtuous character. The new ministry were named by the court *Le ministere sans culottes;* and it is said, that when Roland presented himself at the palace, in a round hat, and with strings in his shoes; the horror-struck master of the ceremonies, starting as if he had seen a ghost, refused to admit him: but, being informed of his rank, and consequently obliged to let him pass, he turned to Dumouriez, and said with a sigh,—'Alas! sir, a man without buckles in his shoes!'—'Ah!' rejoined the minister, in a sarcastic tone, 'if it is come to that, all is lost.'

State of public opinion.

In Great Britain, as it already has been observed, the leading doctrines of the French revolution were maintained, from various causes, and to different extents, by numerous orators and writers; among the latter of whom the unitarian dissenters were remark-

[7] Lacoste, Clavière, Duranthon, and Servan, were respectively appointed to the marine, the finances, justice, and war.

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able: indeed, a large body of sectarians showed themselves eager for tampering with our constitution; clamorous for the destruction of that union betwixt church and state, to which the great body of their countrymen zealously adhered; and manifesting an indecorous hostility to the principles of monarchical government. In the beginning of this year, Dr. Priestley employed his pen to answer Mr. Burke; and, after repeating his usual arguments against existing establishments, exhibited a prophetic vision of the great and manifold blessings which were to flow from the glorious French revolution: this event was to diffuse liberty throughout the world, and to establish the dominion of virtue and happiness; a political millennium was about to be realised; when men should be governed by purity of mind and moderation of desires; without any coercion but that of reason, or any legislature but that of philosophers and disseminators of truth: soon afterwards came out the 'Rights of Man,' by Paine, who had gone to Paris at the commencement of the revolution; and, having thoroughly imbibed its sentiments and doctrines, sought to induce his own countrymen to adopt it as a model. Priestley dealt chiefly in prescription, and employed an alterative remedy to every supposed defect; but Paine was *operatical*, and proposed immediate excision; a doctrine much more plain and agreeable to the common people. Clubs, formed in imitation of those in France, testified approbation of these works, particularly of the latter; very cheap editions of which were industriously circulated throughout the country by affiliated societies; nor did a week pass, in which a pamphlet, from some bitter polemic or other, was not launched forth against Burke, and other defenders of the constitution: still, the main body of the people were sound at heart; while a few comparatively among the upper ranks were found to countenance the efforts of sedition.

In this state of things, an occurrence took place, much to be regretted, as exhibiting a degree of violence unworthy of the friends of order, and setting an example of ungovernable fury to those very persons

who were represented as the foes of all established institutions.

In most of the large towns of England, associations were formed for the celebration of the French revolution, on the fourteenth of July; but the opposite party were not indifferent spectators of these proceedings; inflammatory insinuations being conveyed in newspapers and pamphlets, stigmatising those who called themselves friends of freedom, as determined republicans; and representing the act of joining in a convivial party, as an attempt to overturn the British constitution in church and state.

Riots in Birmingham.

A few days before a meeting which had been advertised to be held at Birmingham, copies of a seditious and inflammatory hand-bill, proposing the French revolution as a model to Englishmen, and exciting them to rebellion, were left in a public-house by some person unknown; and as the contents of this paper found a quick and general circulation, they occasioned a great ferment in the town: the magistrates offered a reward of 100 guineas for the discovery of its author, printer, or publisher; and the friends of the meeting, intended for the fourteenth, published an advertisement, explicitly denying its seditious doctrines and disclaiming all connexion with its author or publisher.

The views and intentions of the meeting, however, having been thus misrepresented, the gentlemen concerned, suspecting the seditious paper to be an artifice of their adversaries, thought it advisable to relinquish the scheme: notice was given to that effect; but, at the pressing instance of several persons dissatisfied with this determination, the project was revived, and the company met at the appointed time, to the number of eighty or ninety: the ingenious Keir, well known for his attainments in several branches of science, and a member of the established church, was placed in the chair; but the party had scarcely assembled, before the house was surrounded by a tumultuous crowd, who testified their disapprobation by hisses and groans, and by shouts of 'church and king,' which became

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the watchword on this occasion. At five o'clock, the company dispersed; but soon afterwards the windows of the hotel were demolished; and, undeterred by the appearance of the magistrates, the mob forcibly entered in search of the guests; but fortunately found none of them remaining.

Disappointed in this quarter, they immediately set on fire and destroyed two conventicles belonging to dissenters, and thence proceeded to the house of Dr. Priestley; which, with his library, philosophical apparatus, manuscripts and papers, they totally destroyed: in like manner, they continued, for the next two days, burning the houses and valuable effects of many other sectarians who resided in and near to Birmingham: it was in vain that the magistrates engaged additional constables; for the mob baffled all attempts made to disperse them, compelling the constables to retire, and inflicting on many of them severe wounds; during the evening of the third and morning of the fourth day, however, several troops of cavalry arrived, and restored tranquillity: of these infatuated rioters, seventeen were tried, and five found guilty; of whom three were executed: thus terminated a scene, which, though it reflects no honor on our annals, may still be useful, as a warning to deter men from the exhibition of that malignant party-spirit, which reflects disgrace even upon the best cause.

Royal marriages.

On the twenty-ninth of September, the political discussions which had so long absorbed public attention were relieved by the marriage of the duke of York with the princess Charlotte Ulrica, eldest daughter of the late king of Prussia; a mutual affection having subsisted between the parties ever since the royal duke's residence at the court of Berlin. Prince Augustus, his majesty's fifth son, was at this time in Rome, where he received marked attentions from his holiness the pope: during the residence of his royal highness in the ancient capital of the world, a circumstance took place, which excited very unpleasant sensations in the minds of the royal family, especially of his majesty: this was the marriage of the prince with

lady Augusta Murray, one of the most beautiful and accomplished women in the British dominions: the ceremony was repeated in the following year, after the banns had been regularly published, at St. George's church, Hanover-square; but being in direct opposition to an act of parliament, and the union not having been sanctioned by his majesty in council, nor any notice given by his royal highness of his intention to marry, it was subsequently set aside by an appeal to the law: still there remained a legal doubt whether the issue of such marriage was not intitled to succeed to the throne of Hanover, in case the succession should naturally devolve on it.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1792.

Progress of the French revolution—Invasion of the allies—Deposition of Louis XVI.—National convention—French victories, &c.—Meeting of the British parliament—Debates on the address—Opposite opinions of Fox and Burke regarding the French revolution and the measures to be taken—Conduct of ministers—Manner in which it was noticed in parliament—Notice of the Birmingham rioters by Fox and Whitbread—Mr. Pitt's financial statement—Debates and explanations—Act to increase the sinking fund in case of loans; violently opposed in the lords by the chancellor—Debates on the Russian armament—Mr. Fox's rash conduct, and Mr. Pitt's forbearance—Act to relieve the Scotch episcopalians—Bill to relieve the unitarians rejected—Debates on parliamentary reform—Royal proclamation against seditious writings, illegal correspondence, &c.—Debates on it—Speech of the prince of Wales in the house of lords—Address carried—Prosecutions—London police act—Act to relieve insolvent debtors postponed—Debates on the slave trade—Bill respecting the New Forest, and timber for the navy—Prorogation of parliament—Great seal taken from lord Thurlow—Mr. Pitt made warden of the cinque-ports—Speculations in canal shares—Relief given to the French emigrant clergy—Review of East Indian affairs during the administration of lord Cornwallis.

Progress of French revolution.

THE course of affairs in England was at this period so materially influenced by events in France, that these seem to require a priority of description, in order to render the narrative more clear. The first duty of the new French ministers was to prepare for war, as the state of foreign affairs daily assumed a more menacing aspect: the pacific Leopold was just dead; and Francis II. was not likely to be influenced by the caution and circumspection of his predecessor; indeed, it seemed inevitable, that the flame, when once kindled,

should spread widely: every passion was excited; every political relation had been altered; old connexions were broken, and ancient foes had become friends; of which change the connexion of Austria and Prussia gave an early proof: the cause of Louis XVI. seemed to be the cause of kings; and a gallant monarch[1] was about to place himself at its head, when he was suddenly snatched away by assassination; the conduct of various cabinets was far from faultless; but the fearful scenes in France were so new, as to lie wholly out of the range of their antique policy: indeed, one of the greatest advantages possessed by the democratic party was this;—that they banished cabinet policy intirely out of their own system.

Austria was now collecting troops; and the ultimatum on which she consented to discontinue her preparations, was a re-establishment of the French constitution based on the declaration of June, 1789; the restitution of their property to the clergy; the cession of Alsace to the German princes, and of Avignon to the pope. These terms were like a summons directed to the torrent, or a command to the whirlwind: the assembly determined on war; and Louis, pressed alike by friends, ministers, and enemies, was obliged to adopt a measure, by which the interests of his family would necessarily be injured, whichever side was victorious: in one case, his people would be more imperious in their demands; in the other, he would be accused of treachery, and loaded with reproaches.

The Girondist ministers made themselves odious to what was still called a court, by their uncouth behavior and pretensions; above all, Dumouriez was false: finding himself in office, he broke with the Girondists as he had broken with the constitutionalists, and influenced the king to resist their counsels; this again excited the spirits of the old royalists, and induced Louis to listen once more to their counsels: the first action on the frontiers, being unfavorable to the revolutionary soldiers, who fled panic-struck, raised

[1] Gustavus, king of Sweden.

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still higher hopes for the royalists about the palace; but the populace became proportionally excited, and the seeds of insurrection were sown afresh.

From the moment that Dumouriez, and with him the monarch, broke with the Girondists, or rather with the majority of the legislative assembly, (for the Girondists and Jacobins coalesced in public measures) the latter directed all their hostility against the throne: with this view, they proposed to establish, under the walls of the capital, a camp of federals from the provinces, composed of furious revolutionists, ready to act on all occasions with the Parisian populace against the national guard, whose interference was dreaded by the republicans: here was another crisis in the reign of Louis; had it turned to advantage, the supremacy of the mob at least might have been prevented. Many thousands of the national guards and of the more respectable citizens petitioned against this federal camp: the middle classes were roused to a sense of danger; they perceived that the Girondists were betraying them, and that there was a necessity for defending the throne: Dumouriez therefore urged the king to throw the whole weight of his influence into the scale of the constitutional party; but the Girondists, seeing the opportunity thus left open to him, determined to close it, by sending to him a decree respecting the nonjuring and seditious priesthood: this he resisted; and his resistance appeared to the citizens to result from a want of cordiality toward the revolution: the scheme succeeded; Dumouriez's advice was rejected; and the monarch, in his exasperation, defied the Girondists and the popular body, without rallying round him the national guards or the citizens: the Girondist ministers were now dismissed; and Dumouriez, foreseeing the catastrophe that ensued, set out for the army, where he soon established for himself a high military reputation.

The new administration was chosen from among the *feuillants*, but it possessed no weight either with their party or with the nation; and the king, having lost the support of the only men capable of controlling the

revolution at the moment when its violence was about to break out, fell into a state of deep depression, from which he was extricated only by the mental energy of the queen. Alarmed at the dangers now surrounding the monarchy, the leaders of the monarchical party and of the *feuillants* united to repress the growing spirit of insubordination: la Fayette also wrote on the sixteenth of June an energetic letter to the assembly, denouncing the jacobin faction, demanding a dissolution of the clubs, and conjuring the friends of liberty to confine themselves to legal measures; but he only excited indignation against himself, and failed in calming the populace. The Girondists, chagrined at the loss of their places in the administration, now proceeded to the most disastrous excesses; and, allying themselves with the mob, inflamed it by petitions and harangues, in the hope of intimidating the court: the populace were taught that Louis Capet, by his single word of dissent, prevented a levy of the federal army, which might save the nation from an European league; that at such a time he had discharged honest and zealous ministers; while he encouraged the priesthood, sworn enemies of the revolution, and firm allies of Austria: in the mean time, by direction of the Girondists, a general insurrection was prepared in the faux-bourgs, and a body of 10,000 men organised in the quarter of St. Antoine: thus, while the royalists were urging the advance of European powers, the populace was stirred up to insurrection by the patriots; who, before one year expired, fell victims to the violence which they had excited.

The demagogues sought an early pretext for arming the people, under a plea of preparing for the enemy's approach: pikes were accordingly forged and distributed; and as the twentieth of June approached, it was resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the tennis-court, in view of the Tuilleries: the Girondists favored this plan, hoping that the king, through intimidation, would abandon his *veto;* the rabble therefore assembled to the number of 30,000 pikemen, with the ferocious Santerre at their head, and proceeded to the assembly

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with a violent petition; whence they rushed with furious cries towards the Tuilleries; broke into the palace; and insulted the king with outrageous demands, that he should instantly ratify the decrees against the priests, and sanction the establishment of a federal camp: his majesty never exhibited so much fortitude as on this trying occasion: he bore all their insults with calmness; and to their reiterated demands, merely replied,—'This is neither the time nor the way to obtain them from me.'

These events excited great indignation throughout France; and the deportment of the king in his dangerous circumstances extorted praise even from his enemies. The duke de la Rochefoucault, who commanded at Rouen, offered him an asylum there; la Fayette invited him to Compiegne, where he might surround himself with constitutional forces; and the national guard offered to protect his person: but Louis declined all these proposals; he hoped for deliverance from the allied powers, and was unwilling to compromise himself by openly joining the constitutional party. La Fayette made a last effort to save the throne, by leaving the army, and presenting himself before the assembly, with a strong address from the soldiers against the late excesses; demanding that their authors should be punished, and vigorous measures taken to put down the jacobins: success even now appeared likely to attend his representations; but Louis refused to be saved by a person, whom he considered as the author of his misfortunes: la Fayette therefore departed in despair at the fatuity both of the king and queen; not, however, without making a vain attempt to disperse the jacobins, by whom he was burnt in effigy on the scene of his civic triumphs in the Palais Royal. This was the last struggle of the constitutionalists: meanwhile, the Girondists and republicans, emboldened by la Fayette's failure, aimed openly at the king's dethronement; the minds of men were wound up to a high pitch by inflammatory harangues; and it was proclaimed to the citizens, that 'the country was in danger.' A general frenzy soon

seized the public mind; many departments openly defied the authority of government; and, without any orders, sent their contingents to form the federal camp near Paris.

The approach of a crisis became evident on the fourteenth of July, when a *fête* was held to commemorate the storming of the Bastile; and the king went in procession, with the queen and dauphin, to the Champ de Mars. The soldiers, who could with difficulty keep back the obtrusive mob, were wholly unable to prevent its maledictions, uttered against their monarch and his perfidious flight: he returned to the palace in extreme dejection; nor did he appear again in public till he ascended the scaffold. In the mean time, the announcement of 'the country in danger' put all France in motion, and brought thousands of hot-brained youth to increase the dreadful fermentation of the capital: to these new-comers the assembly gave an exclusive use of its galleries; paying them thirty sous a day out of the public treasury; and incorporating them into a society, which soon surpassed the jacobins themselves in democratic violence: a determination to overthrow the monarchy was openly announced by those ferocious bands; among whom some of the French guards were incorporated by the assembly, in order to give them a species of organisation and discipline. The whole jealousy of the assembly was now directed against the court, from whose vengeance, if the allies should be victorious, they expected speedy and condign punishment: they therefore closed the society of the *feuillants*, disbanded a portion of the national guard, and sent from Paris all troops on whose fidelity they could not rely: the court, in the tottering state of its authority, having no hope left but in the advance of the confederated powers, took all possible measures to gain time for their approach; committees of royalists were formed, and attempts were made to arrest the progress of insurrection; but the efforts of a few loyal spirits were totally lost in the midst of revolutionary millions.

Yet the leaders of the conspiracy still wavered,

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doubting whether the popular mind was sufficiently excited to ensure success: this cause of delay, however, was soon removed by the advance and injudicious conduct of the allied troops. The duke of Brunswick, departing from Coblentz on the twenty-fifth of July, passed the French boundaries with 70,000 Prussians, and nearly as many Austrians and Hessians: his march was preceded by a proclamation drawn up by Calonne; in which he reproached the usurpers of authority in France with having troubled social order, and overturned legitimate government; with having committed daily outrages on the king and queen, invaded the rights of German princes in Alsace and Lorrain, and declared war unnecessarily against the king of Hungary and Bohemia: in consequence, the sovereigns had taken up arms to arrest the progress of anarchy, and to restore his legitimate authority to the French king, without any view to individual aggrandisement; and the national guards would be held responsible for the maintenance of order until the allied forces should arrive: finally, the assembly and municipality were ordered to liberate their monarch; and it was declared, that the act of forcing the palace, or any insult offered to the royal family, would be followed by exemplary punishment, in the total destruction of the city.

Invasion of France by the allies.

Frightful massacre at Paris.

So exasperating a proclamation, enforced by no rapid or efficient military operations, served only to injure the cause it advocated, and to accelerate the march of revolution. The jacobinical leaders had no longer any reason to complain of a want of national enthusiasm: this manifesto was regarded as a document unfolding the real views of the emigrants and of the court; nor did there appear to the people any choice but that between victory and death: the chiefs of the different parties strove to convert this effervescence into means of advancing their own interests; the Girondists were desirous to have the king dethroned by a decree of the assembly; but the leaders of the popular insurrection[2] and their associates, who wished

[2] Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine.

to destroy both the legislature and the throne, prevented a measure which would have established the supremacy of the former body. The arrival of federal troops from Marseilles, in the beginning of August, increased the strength and confidence of the insurgents; the dethronement of the king was vehemently discussed in the popular clubs; and a deputation, with Petion at its head, appeared at the bar of the assembly, to demand it in the name of the municipality and sections: on the eighth, the irritation of the people was still farther increased by a vote of the assembly, discarding an accusation brought against la Fayette, who had now become an object of execration to the populace: on the ninth, the effervescence was extreme, and the constitutionalists were publicly insulted by the Marseillois; at midnight, the tocsin was sounded throughout Paris; and the insurgents, assembling in great strength at different points of rendezvous, continued to collect together their forces throughout that night of horror, which preceded the fall of the oldest monarchy in Europe. On the morning of the tenth, the several columns were complete: Santerre, the brewer, led those of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, in number about 15,000; but the head-quarters of insurrection were at the club of the cordeliers, where Danton ruled with undisputed sway: at his cry,—'to arms!' the insurgents, especially the Marseillois, impatiently called for the signal to march; and the cannon of all the sections began to roll toward the centre of the city.

Their first step was to seize the Hotel de Ville, dismiss the municipality, and appoint a new magistracy called the *commune*, selected from the most violent demagogues: while the other insurrectionary forces were drawing toward this central point, a large portion of the national guards repaired to the Tuilleries, where the few royalists, who still remained in Paris, hastened also to the defence of their sovereign: the only troops, however, that could be relied on, were the Swiss guards, mustering about 800 men: at the first alarm, the assembly met; and though their disposition

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was to defend the throne, popular insurrection had deprived them of the power. The events of this disastrous day, in which the queen of France exhibited the spirit of a heroine, and the king that of a martyr, are too well known to need a long detail: the defence of the Tuilleries was soon forsaken by the national guards, whose colonel, Mandat, had been that morning murdered by the populace, and whose loyalty was shaken by observing so many royalists in the palace: the gendarmerie, composed chiefly of the old French guards, again betrayed their sovereign; and the faithful Swiss alone remained: while masses of insurgents were penetrating into the courts, the king, following the advice of Rœderer, procureur of the new commune, and against the remonstrances of his spirited consort, repaired with his family to the assembly; and the attack commenced. The courageous bearing of the Swiss, who vigorously charged and repulsed the Marseillois rabble, might even then have prevailed over the popular insurrection; but the king himself was destined to strike the blow fatal to his own cause, by sending an order for them to retire, and abandon the palace: this message was only given to one battalion, which instantly repaired to the assembly; and the rest of those faithful soldiers, after defending the staircase for a short time, were driven back, and inhumanly butchered by the mob, whose victory is said to have cost them 3000 slain: the assembly concluded the crimes of this bloody day by a decree, suspending their sovereign from his functions; ordering the formation of a national convention; and appointing a new ministry, in which the old Girondists, Roland, Servan, and Clavière recovered their offices, and Petion was allowed to retain that of mayor. Such were the terms tacitly granted to the assembly by the jacobins, for acknowleging their new municipality; but to the Girondist ministers were added Lebrun and Danton; the former being entrusted with the department of foreign affairs, the latter with that of justice: thus were the jacobins supported, when it became necessary to take measures for the defence of the kingdom. The Girondists, alarmed

at the approach of the allied armies, and displeased at the domineering conduct of the jacobins and the commune, conceived the plan of abandoning Paris, and defending the country behind the Loire; but their opponents held the uncompromising language of bold defiance; and, inspired by the forcible eloquence of Danton, resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of the capital, rather than desert it. 'You know,' said that demagogue, in the committee of general defence, 'that France lives in Paris; and there we must maintain our position: but it is impossible to think of fighting under its walls; for the tenth of August has divided France into two parties, of which one is attached to monarchy, the other desires a republic: the latter, and the smaller party, is the only one on which you can rely; the other will refuse to march, will agitate Paris in favor of the foreigners, and will place your defenders between two fires: if these defenders fail, as I think they will, the ruin of yourselves and your country is certain and immediate: even if they succeed, their victory will not save you from danger; for it will cost you thousands of brave men; while the royalists, already superior in numbers, will have lost nothing of their strength: my advice therefore is, that, to disconcert their measures, we should frighten the royalists.' As the committee, who well understood the sense of these terrible words, seemed by silence to reject his advice, Danton entered into engagements with the commune; he wished to daunt his adversaries by terror, and, making the multitude his accomplices, leave to the revolution no hope or refuge but in victory: hence arose those frightful massacres which soon took place in France; the victims being chiefly selected from the two dissident classes of clergy and nobility: the assembly desired to stop them, but had not the power; while the ministry was as impotent as the assembly: the terrible commune became omnipotent, under the influence and direction of a man, in whose eyes the welfare of his party went far beyond the laws of humanity.

The French troops first sent to repel invasion, were

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inferior to their antagonists in discipline and equipment: besides, they soon became paralysed by intestine divisions, and their ranks were thinned by frequent desertions; but the revolution of the tenth of August changed both the command of the armies, and the state of military affairs. La Fayette, having in vain endeavored to raise the standard of revolt against the jacobins, and engage his army in the cause of the constitutionalists, was compelled to fly for safety within the Austrian lines; and as Luckner had disobeyed the orders of the convention, the command of both their divisions was transferred to Dumouriez; though the Girondists still felt some rancor against him, and his ambitious views were suspected even by those who rendered justice to his military talents.

French victories.

The allies proceeded slowly, and with apparent timidity, in a country which they professed to consider as the scene of certain conquest; and they only invested Verdun on the thirtieth of August: the capitulation of that place on the second of September left the road to Paris open; but their dilatory measures, and the enterprising genius of Dumouriez, counteracted all their advantages: as every thing depended on the occupation of the defiles in the forest of Argonne, that important post was immediately seized by the French general, who likened it to another Thermopylæ; 'though,' he observed, 'I shall be more fortunate than Leonidas.' In such a position he was able to stop the enemy, while he waited for succors which were hastening to him from all parts of France: even though driven from his post, he recovered his advantage through the slow operations and indecision of the enemy, maintaining another strong position at St. Menehould, until he was joined by the division under Kellerman and Bournonville; when his army amounted to 70,000 men, and success became almost certain: on the twentieth of September, the allies attacked Kellerman at Valmy; and a slight superiority that day produced on the French troops, and throughout France, the effect of a complete victory: the invaders, on the other hand, were unprovided with stores or

provisions; continued rains had broken up the roads; and for four days consecutively the troops had no other norishment than boiled corn; disease began to make extensive ravages among them; and the duke of Brunswick commenced a retreat: in this he acted against the opinion of the king of Prussia and the emigrants, who would have risked a battle, and seized on Châlons: but as the fate of the Prussian monarchy almost depended on its army, the loss of which would have certainly followed defeat, the duke's advice prevailed: negotiations were then opened; and the allies, relaxing in their terms, merely demanded the king's restoration to the constitutional throne; but the convention had just been assembled, and the republic proclaimed; so that the executive council refused to listen to any proposition until the allied troops had quitted the French territories: they accordingly effected a retreat, which was feebly opposed by Kellerman; while Dumouriez set out for the capital, to enjoy his triumph, and to make arrangements for the invasion of Belgium: the moment was one of elation; Custine had taken Trèves, Spire, and Mayence, the very key of the Rhine; Savoy and Nice were occupied by French armies; and the Austrians had retreated from Lille: hastening therefore from the applauses and *fêtes* with which he was welcomed in Paris, the victorious general marched against the Austrians, over whom he gained the bloody battle of Jemappe, and entered Brussels as a conqueror on the fourteenth of November: Liege surrendered on the twenty-eighth: Valence took Namur; Labourdonnaie obtained possession of Antwerp; and before the end of December, all the Low Countries were in the hands of the French. These important conquests showed to the startled nations of Europe the altered nature of the war, while they prepared them for its farther extension: on those very provinces the old political system had principally rested; for they were the bulwark of Holland: one battle now decided their fate, which at other times several campaigns had been unable to change; and men, hitherto unknown, took the lead as skilful com-

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manders: the bloodless seizure of Savoy also afforded a sample of the new international law established by republicans.

Even in the time of triumph over foreign enemies the people felt all their vindictive rage excited against the unfortunate Louis: the convention was divided between two powerful parties; the first, consisting of Girondists, under Brissot, Petion, Vergniaud, &c.; and the second of extreme Jacobins, led by Danton, Robespierre, Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, and others, who assumed the name of the Mountain;[3] a faction, which soon compensated for its inferiority in numbers by a spirit of intrigue and audacity: thus, from the very commencement of its sitting, the convention was threatened with new convulsions, through the struggles of these parties; both of which, however, concurred in the propriety of bringing the king to trial, though, as it was supposed, the Girondists meant to spare his life: both agreed also in the famous decree of the nineteenth of November, which offered fraternity to the people of all countries disposed to revolt: indeed, the language of the French government toward other states had long been such, as to excite serious apprehensions among the friends of social order; for not only orators in the clubs, but members of the assembly, and of the convention, proclaimed the doctrine of fraternisation with the revolutionary party throughout the world; and the annexation of the little states of Avignon and the Venaisin was early marked by Burke as indicating an ambitious spirit, which ere long all Europe would find it difficult to restrain.

Meeting of parliament.

The British parliament met on the thirty-first of January; and his majesty's speech dwelt chiefly on the rapidly increasing prosperity of the nation, tending to confirm attachment to a constitution uniting in itself the blessings of liberty and order; to which, under Providence, all our advantages were principally to be ascribed: affairs in Europe were represented as promising the continuance of peace; and an expecta-

[3] So called from the upper seats on the left of the assembly, which they occupied.

tion was held out of a speedy reduction in our naval and military establishments. Debates on the address, and some succeeding discussion in both houses, turned principally on the line of conduct pursued by ministers in their interference between Turkey and Russia, marked as it was by so much hostility toward the latter power. Mr. Jenkinson,[4] in a maiden speech, much admired for its extensive views of the existing state of Europe as bearing on this country, observed, that since the strength and influence of France were at an end, we had no farther danger to apprehend from that once formidable rival; but a power had succeeded to France, no less deserving attention from its restless politics and ambitious views; and that power was Russia: as if to confirm the truth of his remarks, Catharine, this very year, signed a new treaty of partition with the other royal plunderers, of which unhappy Poland was the object; the prediction, however, concerning France was a notable instance of the danger of prophesying.

Mr. Fox, conceiving himself, and those who coincided in his sentiments respecting the French revolution, indirectly censured by the praise of British policy, exerted himself to show, that an expression of satisfaction at the overthrow of French despotism, hostile as it had ever been to civil rights and human happiness, was compatible with a perfect veneration for the British constitution, the preserver and promoter of both: he rejoiced in this subversion of French despotism, because it was an acknowleged evil; but he would use every effort to support our own constitution, because it was an undoubted good: in subsequent discussions, he more explicitly declared his opinions on this momentous subject; showing how illogical it was to confound the principles of the revolution with its excesses, and to make freedom herself answerable for that mass of guilt and folly which her enemies and injudicious supporters were mainly influential in producing: he esteemed the outrages that had been committed merely as incidental effects of an ardent enthusiasm, which must be temporary; while the free

[4] The late earl of Liverpool.

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principles, and the institutions established on them would subsist for ages after the passions had subsided. Mr. Burke, on the contrary, reckoned these outrages to be essential characters of the revolution, which legitimately descended from its nature and principles, and would go on increasing in number and magnitude: he inveighed against the whole nation as actuated with a diabolical spirit, and as bent on the perpetration of all possible mischief; a phenomenon never before known in the annals of the world. From such opposite views in theory, these illustrious statesmen, recommended equally opposite systems of practice: Burke very early inculcated the necessity of a confederacy, to put down an infernal spirit, which otherwise would insinuate itself into other nations, and produce a general destruction of social order: Fox, regarding it only as the outbreak of enthusiasm, advised abstinence from all hostile interference, which would support rather than extinguish the passion, turn its efforts to external defence and endow it with an energy, that would prove fatal to those who roused it into action. Such were the expressed opinions of these eminent statesmen on this important subject: that of Fox was the most philosophical, because he took in the causes of the evil, instead of dilating only on its consequence; whereas Burke hurried on by indignation, and fearing the contagion of example, passed over all the sources of discontent which irritated the people to indiscriminate and deadly animosity against the higher and privileged classes: this might have been politic then, but the historian, how great soever may be his horror at the excesses of the revolution, must be cautious not to insist upon them exclusively; or to extenuate those exactions and feudal rights, that exclusion from offices and dignities, that perversion of justice and denial of right, which so exasperated a nation against its rulers. It is dangerous as well as untrue to exhibit a people maddened to commit such horrible atrocities with inadequate motives: the suppression of truth is not only unwise but impolitic; for it defeats its own object.

As ministers avoided any delivery of opinions on

events and systems which had not yet interfered with the interests of their own country, the subject of the French revolution was not brought directly before parliament; though many proceedings arose from questions of liberty or reform, which that great event was instrumental in suggesting. Mr. Fox thought it extraordinary, that, when his majesty mentioned the inestimable blessings of peace and order, no notice was taken of the violation of order, in the riots of the preceding year, which had revived the spirit and practice of the darkest ages: they were not riots for bread; not riots in the cause of liberty, which, however highly to be reprobated, had some excuse in principle; but they were riots of men neither aggrieved nor complaining; of men, who had set on foot an indiscriminate persecution of one intire class of their fellow subjects; including persons as eminent for ability, as blameless in conduct, and as faithful in allegiance, as this or any country could produce. Mr. Whitbread, a new member of considerable talents, who had joined Fox's party, subsequently re-echoed these sentiments; and imputed the outrages complained of to the encouragement which was given by government to the persecutors of dissenters; because the latter were inimical to civil and ecclesiastical tyranny.

Financial statement of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt strongly deprecated the invidious revival of a subject so unpleasant and unprofitable; wishing rather to call attention to the florishing condition of our finances; a correct statement of which he intended soon to lay before the house: accordingly, at an early day, he brought this subject regularly forward, and in an animated speech drew a picture of national prosperity equal to what the most fervent imagination could have suggested. After some introductory observations on the welcome intelligence conveyed in his majesty's speech, relative to an improvement in the public revenue, he stated that the income of the country last year had amounted to £16,730,000, which exceeded that of the preceding year by £300,000, and the average of the last four years by more than half a million. As there had been a constant increase for

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these four years, he thought himself justified in considering their average, £16,212,000, as the future annual revenue, and in making his calculations on that supposition. Allowing for some necessary alterations, now specified, he estimated the future expenditure at £15,811,000, which left £401,000 to be disposed of: he therefore proposed to add £200,000 a year to the sinking fund, and take off taxes to the same amount, selecting such as would most relieve the poor and industrious classes: the sum remaining in the exchequer unappropriated, enabled him farther to propose, that in the present year £400,000, in addition to the annual million, should be applied to the reduction of our national debt, and £100,000 toward the expenses of the Spanish armament; by which arrangement the additional tax imposed last year on malt might be immediately taken off: the other taxes which he wished to repeal, were those on female servants, carts and waggons, houses having less than seven windows, and candles as far as the last halfpenny per pound. He enumerated the various articles of the supply of the current year, which amounted to £5,654,000; and of the ways and means, which were £5,691,000; leaving an excess of £37,000 in their favor: he held out encouraging prospects of farther relief from the future repeal of taxes; and though he was aware of the many contingences, which, by disturbing public tranquillity, might prevent such a design; yet there never was a time, he said, in the history of this country, when, from the situation of Europe, fifteen years of peace might more reasonably be expected, than at the present moment. He went through various calculations respecting the operation of the sinking fund, which he expected to reach its maximum of four millions in 1808; and he intimated his intention of submitting to the house, on a subsequent day, a plan relative to future loans, in case of war: having then pointed out a gradual and uniform increase in all the principal branches of revenue, as well as the exports and imports, he proceeded to investigate the peculiar causes to which these effects might

be ascribed; among which, he enumerated, and dilated on, the natural industry and energy of the country in improving manufactures, and abridging labor; the extension and stability of its credit; the enterprising spirit of its merchants; and, more especially, that accumulation of capital, which arises from the continual application of a portion of profit obtained each year, to be employed in a similar manner, and with continued profit, in the year following; by which means the great mass of property in the nation is constantly increasing at compound interest; the progress of which, during any considerable period, is what at first view appears incredible. To the foregoing causes, he added the duration of peace; and that union of liberty with law, under our happy government, which, by raising a barrier against the encroachments of power and the violence of popular commotion, affords to property its just security, and sets in motion all the springs that act on the community at large. 'From the result of the whole,' said Mr. Pitt, 'I trust I am intitled to conclude, that the scene which we are now contemplating is not the transient effect of accident, not the short-lived prosperity of a day; but the general and natural result of regular and permanent causes: though we may yet be subject to those fluctuations which often occur in the affairs of a mighty nation, and which cannot be calculated or foreseen; yet, as far as reliance may be placed on human speculations, we have the best ground, from experience of the past, for looking with satisfaction on the present, and with confidence toward the future.' Such were the brilliant hopes, which in this moment of ministerial exultation the nation was taught to entertain; and with such dazzling, but deceptive brightness, rose the morn of a year, destined to close in darkness, calamity, and blood.

When Pitt had concluded his speech, Fox paid a high compliment to his eloquence, and to the sound philosophical principles which he had displayed: the causes of national prosperity, he observed, had been enumerated with truth and splendor: he sub-

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scribed to the statement most cordially; and if he did not himself go over the same ground, it was because he could add nothing to what had been said; nor could he hope to express it better. Mr. Sheridan, however, denied that the state of the revenue warranted a repeal of taxes; and promised to move, on a future day, for a committee of inquiry into the real amount of public income and expenditure: at present, he contented himself with asserting, that a repeal would, under any circumstances, be an infringement on the principle of redemption, for which the whole surplus of revenue was demanded.

Pitt, in reply, denied that the house was pledged so to apply it; nor had he ever declared or entertained any such intention: he persevered in affirming, that even on the disadvantageous principle of taking the average of the last four years, there was a surplus sufficient to justify the appropriation of the sum mentioned to the discharge of the debt, and to the repeal of taxes which he had specified. He had, he said, several reasons for preferring to pay off the funded rather than the unfunded debt; the principal of which was, that by so doing he should sooner be able to reduce the four per cents, which were then redeemable; and afterwards to discharge as much of the national debt as would enable him to redeem the five per cents, which could not be done till £25,000,000 of the funded debt were actually paid off; for on that condition they were originally established.

Fox candidly admitted that the reduction of the four per cents would be a politic measure; since the nation, according to a calculation which he had made, would draw from it an annual benefit of more than £260,000; and he wished that Mr. Pitt had explained more fully his ideas on that subject: a well-concerted plan should have his support: the rise of the funds he thought a great national benefit; for though it threw obstacles in the way of paying off our national debt, it invigorated every branch of our prosperity, by making money more attainable, and thereby producing wealth, which more than counterbalanced the difference we

had to pay in buying up that debt. If we considered its amount, the principal was certainly increased by a rise in the funds: but though the principal was clearly more now than in 1786, the annuity paid by the nation was less; and to that annuity he looked as the true debt, which was our enemy: all the resolutions moved by Pitt, and the bills founded on them, were unanimously agreed to. At the time of this debate, the three per cents were as high as ninety-four, and it was the minister's intention to propose a reduction of the four per cents to three and a half; but, on farther consideration, he determined to defer the measure to the next session, when he hoped to be able to reduce them to three per cents.[5] So little at this time did he dream of those sinister events which thwarted his projects: at the end of the year the three per cents had dropped to seventy-four, and the design was of course abandoned.

It was not long before the minister brought forward another important measure, to which he had already alluded: being apprehensive that, in the case of a new and protracted war, requiring large additions to our debt, the sinking fund might not operate with sufficient effect to prevent a national bankruptcy, from which tremendous calamity we narrowly escaped at the end of last war; he now proposed, that hereafter, whenever a loan should be made, one per cent. on the new stock thus created, beside the dividends, should be raised and applied in the same manner and under the same regulations, as the original £1,000,000: thus every loan would be accompanied by its own sinking fund, which would operate at compound interest, and discharge the debt in forty-seven years, supposing a three per cent. fund paid off at par; and in every other case in a shorter period.

This bill, which passed the commons without any particular difficulty, was, to the astonishment of all parties, violently reprobated in the house of lords by the chancellor Thurlow, as a provision likely to answer no good purpose; also as exhibiting an extraordinary

[5] Tomline, vol. iii. p. 293.

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degree of arrogance, in dictating to future parliaments, and prescribing to ministers, a mode of action to be adopted twenty or thirty years hence. 'None,' said his lordship, 'but a novice, a sycophant, a mere reptile of a minister, would allow this act to prevent him doing what, in his own judgment, circumstances might require at the time; and a change in the situation of the country might render that which is proper at one time inapplicable at another: in short, the scheme is nugatory and impracticable; the inaptness of the project is only equalled by the vanity of the attempt.' Notwithstanding this opposition, the bill passed into a law, and was invariably observed in the numerous loans advanced, and under the heaviest pecuniary pressure felt during the whole revolutionary contest. It may be considered as extending the principle of the bill of 1786; rendering it a simple and practical system for the payment of national debts; one by which this country was enabled to support an unexampled accumulation of burdens; and in a war of extinction, not only to save itself, but to rescue other nations from slavery and ruin.

Debates on the Russian armament.

Two motions were brought forward in the house of commons, the first by Mr. Grey, and the second by Mr. Whitbread, to condemn the measures taken with regard to the Russian armament; when Pitt, after paying a just compliment to the splendid eloquence which Fox had displayed on the occasion, submitted to the house a plain statement of the grounds on which he had acted. Those measures, he said, were founded on the principle of preserving the balance of power in Europe: he was convinced that the interest and honor of this country required us to pay vigilant attention to the political situation of continental powers, lest the predominance of any one should destroy that equipoise which was essential to the safety of the whole. From the time of William III. the Ottoman empire had been always considered as an effective ally or a formidable enemy; and it was evident that its ruin or depression must materially affect the balance of power: the object of Russian statesmen had long been to ac-

quire an exclusive sovereignty in the Black Sea; and were they, by expelling the Turks, to gain possession of its ports, a new naval power would arise, dangerous to all Europe; but particularly so to Great Britain, whose safety and prosperity mainly depended on the superiority of her fleets: it was surely then important to check the rapid progress of Russia, and induce her to desist from schemes of dismembering the Turkish dominions. He acknowleged that Oczakow was not a place of great importance; but as a fortress commanding the navigation of the Niester, and a point to be gained by the empress in her system of ambition, it was worth some risks, though not all; and he conceived that he had equally done his duty in first attempting to secure this object to Turkey, and afterwards in relinquishing it when it could only be obtained at too high a price: it might, however, have been secured by the means employed, had it not been for the division and opposition excited in this kingdom; and for another proceeding to which he had alluded on a former occasion: Mr. Fox therefore might triumph in his success; but it was a triumph over the friends and the counsels of his country. The motions were all rejected, either without a division, or by very large majorities.

The allusion at the end of Mr. Pitt's speech had reference to an extraordinary proceeding of Mr. Fox, who certainly carried party principles on this occasion to a length, which Burke, in his 'Observations on the Conduct of the Minority,' justly characterised as leading to 'a most unconstitutional act, and a highly treasonable misdemeanor.'

The laws and constitution of this country entrust the exclusive right of treating with foreign potentates to the king, as an undisputed part of the regal prerogative: yet Fox, without the knowlege or participation of a single member in the house, thought proper to send Mr. Adair, as his representative, and with his cipher, to St. Petersburgh, there to frustrate the objects for which a plenipotentiary from the crown was authorised to treat: and he succeeded in his de-

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sign; thereby contributing to render the legitimate mode of communication between this and other nations uncertain and precarious; opening a road for the intrigues of foreign powers in our affairs; and setting an evil example to the mischievous societies at this time in England, which were forming leagues and alliances with revolutionary France. 'It is to be presumed,' says Pitt's biographer,[6] 'that Fox never would have had recourse to such a measure, if he had not entertained a confident hope, that, having already succeeded in rendering the Russian armament unpopular, he should overset Pitt's administration, provided the empress could be prevailed on to persevere in her demands: that point he accomplished without difficulty; yet the result did not turn out as he expected: he defeated Pitt's plan, and brought a certain degree of discredit and danger on his country by effecting the aggrandisement of an unfriendly and powerful court; but his own personal ambition remained ungratified.' Pitt, on this occasion, exhibited marks of a high mind and a forgiving spirit, by forbearing to make his rival's conduct the subject of formal inquiry, or even of actual discussion, in the house of commons.

During this session the Scotch episcopalians were relieved from many legal restraints, for the maintenance of which no reason existed, after the extinction of the house of Stuart: an objection indeed was started to the bill proposed for this purpose, in the house of peers, by the chancellor; who asked, whether, according to a clause in it specifying the description of persons to be relieved, we could with propriety recognise the validity of ordination by bishops exercising their functions independently of the state? In his profound knowlege of ecclesiastical antiquity, his lordship even ventured to intimate doubts, whether bishops could exist in any christian country, not authorised by the state: but being assured by the bishop of St. David's, that christian prelates existed 300 years before the alliance between church and state took place under

[6] Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 309. 'This transaction,' says the bishop, (p. 312.) 'was well known in Turkey, where great surprise was expressed that Mr. Fox had not lost his head for such conduct.'

the emperor Constantine, his lordship was pleased to declare himself satisfied; and the bill passed without farther opposition. The unitarians, taking advantage of this concession made to the Scotch church, demanded a repeal of penal statutes regarding themselves: but to the usual reasons for rejecting the application, were now added others, arising from their objectionable practices, in the formation of democratical clubs, and the dissemination of inflammatory publications.

Debates on parliamentary reform.

Though the many attempts made to obtain a parliamentary reform had uniformly failed, yet were they far from being unproductive of salutary effects, while they provoked discussions, tending to make those evils more apparent, which the legislature refused to remedy: hence, and from the knowlege conveyed through numerous publications, the nature of our representative system came to be well understood; and, in consequence of such knowlege, several political societies were formed for the purpose of procuring a reform. One of these, composed chiefly of tradesmen, assumed the title of the 'London Corresponding Society,' and adopted to its full extent a system recommended by the duke of Richmond, which rested on the basis of universal suffrage and annual parliaments: but another society, formed about the same period, and known by the name of the 'Friends of the People,' attracted more attention, both from the government and the nation. The members of this association adopted principles of reform which Pitt himself had supported, and which had been sanctioned by many distinguished advocates for constitutional liberty: about thirty of them were members of parliament, and others were eminently distinguished by political or literary talents; but not a few were such as threw discredit on the society by the virulence and unconstitutional nature of their opinions. After publishing a declaration of their sentiments, and an address to the people of Great Britain, inviting those who agreed with them to join the association, they determined that early next session a motion for reform should be

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brought forward; and that the conducting of it in the house of commons should be committed to Messrs. Grey and Erskine, both of whom were members: in conformity with this resolution, the former of those gentlemen gave notice, on the thirtieth of April, that in the ensuing session he would move for an inquiry respecting the state of our representation, into which so many abuses had crept through neglect, or been introduced by corruption, that they threatened the very existence of the constitution itself, and, in his opinion, could only be corrected by a timely and temperate reform. He had scarcely concluded this intimation, when Mr. Pitt rose, and said, 'he believed that it was not strictly regular to make any observations on the notice of a motion; and therefore he was under correction from the chair, whether he should articulate a syllable.' 'Go on! go on!' was immediately echoed from all parts of the house; when he proceeded to say, that if ever there was an occasion, on which the mind of a man, who felt for the present, or hoped for the future happiness of his country, should be interested, this was the period for its exertion: nothing could be said, nothing could be whispered on such a subject at this time, which did not involve questions of the most extensive, serious, and lasting importance to the people of Great Britain—to the very being of the state. He would confess, that in one respect he had changed his opinion on this subject, and he was not ashamed to own it: he retained his opinion respecting the propriety of a parliamentary reform, if it could be obtained by a general concurrence, pointing harmlessly at its object; but he was afraid at this moment, that if it were agreed to by that house, the security of all the blessings we enjoyed would be shaken to the foundation. The present, he asserted, was not a season for hazardous experiments: could we forget what lessons had been given to the world within a few years? could it be supposed that men felt the situation of this country, as contrasted with that of others, to be deplorable? He then noticed the association of 'Friends of the People,' and its ad-

vertisements, inviting the public to join the standard of reform: he saw with concern the gentlemen to whom he alluded, united with others, who professed, not reform only, but direct hostility to the very nature of our government; who threatened the extinction of monarchy, hereditary succession, and every thing which promoted order and subordination in a state: to his last hour he would resist every attempt of this nature; and if he was called on either to hazard our safety, or abandon for ever all hopes of reform; he would say, that he had no hesitation in preferring the latter alternative.

Fox, in allusion to the loud applause with which this declaration was received, said that he felt additional difficulty in delivering his sentiments: he was aware that the subject of parliamentary reform was completely unpopular within those walls; but he believed that the nation regarded it in a different light; and unless something were done to quiet the public mind, there would be a difficulty in preserving internal tranquillity for any considerable time. He reminded the house, that he had never professed to be so sanguine on this subject as the right honorable gentleman; but though less sanguine, he happened to be rather more consistent; for he had, early in public life, formed an opinion of the necessity of parliamentary reform, and he still remained convinced of that necessity; and the obvious reason was, that the proceedings of the house were sometimes at variance with public opinion: for the truth and justice of what he now advanced, it was only necessary to refer to a recent instance, the Russian armament: the sentiment of the house was, that we should proceed to hostilities; the declaration of the people was, that we should not; and that declaration was so strong, as to silence and awe the minister with his triumphant majority; nevertheless, the people were now paying the expense of an armament, for which they never gave their consent; and, as far as that goes, they pay their money for not being represented, and because their sentiments are not spoken within the walls of that house. It was the

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doctrine of implicit confidence in a minister, that disgusted the people; a confidence, not given to him from experience of his probity and talents, but merely because he was minister: and whatever calamities he might bring on the country, no inquiry into his conduct would be granted. In reply to Pitt's observations on the character of several members of the association, he confessed that some of Mr. Grey's allies were infuriated republicans; but, on the other hand, he maintained, that among Mr. Pitt's friends were to be found as many slaves of despotism. Sheridan, among other arguments in favor of reform, observed, 'that sixty or seventy peers had been created under the present administration, for no distinguished abilities or public services, but merely for their influence in returning members to parliament. Here peerages had been bartered for electioneering interest; but in the sister kingdom, it had been all but proved that they were put up to auction for money: the premier, failing in his proposition of adding 100 members to the house of commons, had almost added as many to the house of lords.' The speaker went on to remark, 'that an honorable gentleman, Mr. Powys,[7] had called on all who thought as he did to protest against the measure: in this he had done wisely, for to protest was easier than to argue.'

Debates on seditious writings.

The alarm of ministers evidently appeared in a royal proclamation, almost immediately issued against the public dispersion of seditious writings, and against all illegal correspondence; exhorting the magistrates to vigilance, and the people to submission and obedience: this being laid before the house on the twenty-fifth of May, and an address moved of approbation and support, it was warmly opposed by Mr. Grey, and the proclamation itself condemned severely, as a pernicious and insidious measure, designed to make a separation between those who had long acted together, and among whom there was known to exist a difference of opinion respecting the present state of the country; though

[7] He was himself soon afterwards called to the upper house by the title of lord Lilford.

the union of this party was essential to the maintenance of our constitution in purity and perfection. No man, he said, ever was more delighted with such sinister practices than the right honorable gentleman, whose policy was a constant tissue of inconsistency, of assertion and retractation; who never proposed a measure without intending to delude his hearers; who promised every thing, and performed nothing; who never kept his word with the people; who studied all arts of obtaining popularity without even intending to deserve it; and who, from the first step of his political life, was a complete public apostate: he remarked, as one of the objects of this proclamation, 'that the king's officers, commissioners of the peace, and magistrates, were enjoined to make diligent inquiry, in order to discover the authors and publishers of wicked and seditious writings; in other words, a system of espionage was to be established by order of the crown: the very idea was surprising, as well as odious, that a proclamation should issue from the sovereign of a free people, commanding such a system to be supported by spies and informers. Fox was scarcely less violent against the minister, or in his reprobation of the proclamation and address.

Pitt declared that no invective should ever deter him from pursuing that line of conduct which he deemed most conducive to public tranquillity, and the preservation of constitutional freedom: he expressed his respect for many members of the association in question, from whom he differed chiefly in regard to the time and mode adopted for the attainment of their object. 'The society of friends of the people,' he said, 'need not come within the scope of this proclamation; which was levelled against those daring and seditious principles that had been so insidiously promulgated, under the plausible and delusive appellation of the Rights of Man.' He expressed his astonishment, that the existence of a republican spirit in this kingdom had been denied, when it was openly avowed and industriously propagated both by individuals and by societies; and he declared, that Mr. Fox, by the argu-

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ments which he had that day used, was certainly a friend, if not an advocate, of Paine and his doctrines: such conduct appeared to him irreconcilable with any spark of patriotism, or any regard for our established form of government: it was scarcely credible, that a man should seriously maintain that there was no ground for alarm, or cause for such a proclamation; when it was known, that numerous clubs, in manufacturing towns and districts, had adopted, and were eagerly spreading opinions, which, if not checked in time, would undermine and overthrow the constitution.

Several opposition members, particularly the marquis of Titchfield, lord North, Messrs. Windham, Anstruther, and T. Grenville, delivered sentiments in favor of the address; and the last of these gentlemen asserted, that writings of a seditious nature had been circulated among our soldiers and sailors: all acknowleged their conviction, that the doctrines lately propagated, and the conduct pursued, by clubs and societies, demanded a vigorous interposition of government, if it would avert from this country evils experienced by France, resulting from similar beginnings: the address was finally carried without a division. In the upper house, as soon as a motion for the concurrence of their lordships was made and seconded, the prince of Wales rose for the first time, to deliver his sentiments among the peers. 'Having been educated in principles which taught him to revere that constitutional liberty of the people on which their happiness depended, to those principles he would give his firm and constant support: the matter at issue appeared to be, whether the constitution was or was not to be maintained; whether wild notions of untried theory were to conquer the wholesome maxims of established practice; and whether those laws, under which we had florished for so long a series of years, were to be subverted by a pretended reform, which the people would not sanction: as a person nearly and dearly interested in the happiness of the people, he should feel it treason against his own principles if he did not express a disapprobation of those seditious publications which

Speech of the prince of Wales.

had occasioned the present motion: on this great and solid basis then, he would vote for a concurrence with the commons in their wise and salutary address.'

Lord Grenville, in the ensuing debate observed, that such a testimony from his royal highness of regard to the constitution, and such zeal for the national welfare, must warm the breast of every Englishman who heard it; whilst it was the strongest assurance to the people at large, that they might expect a continuance of those essential blessings, which they had enjoyed since the accession of the present illustrious family to the throne of these realms.

The address was supported by the duke of Portland, lords Spencer and Rawdon, with several other opposition members; an amendment, moved by lord Lauderdale, and seconded by lord Lansdowne, being rejected without a division: then followed addresses from all parts of the kingdom; and ministers, conscious of their strength, commenced prosecutions against many offenders; among whom Paine stood most conspicuous: he was found guilty of the charge; but, foreseeing the probability of this event, he had eluded punishment by absconding to France; where he was elected a member of the national convention.

Great complaints very generally and justly prevailed at this time, respecting the police of London, where the materials of plunder were more numerous and accessible, while the practicability of depredation was greater than in any other city: many rules and ordinances had been enacted at different periods, but had proved unequal to the ends proposed, for want of sufficient power in the magistracy and its agents to discover and suppress, in a summary and expeditious manner, whatever had a visible tendency to disturb the public peace. To rectify this defect, a bill was introduced into the lower house, with the concurrence and approbation of government, by which public offices were to be established, at a convenient distance from each other, for the prompt administration of such parts of our law as come within the cognisance of justices of the peace. Three magistrates were to

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sit in each of these offices, with a salary of £300: they were to be prohibited from taking fees individually; and the money arising from fees paid into all the offices, was to be applied to the disbursement of salaries and official expenses: that the law might have an operation preventive as well as penal, a clause was inserted, vesting in constables authority to apprehend persons who did not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and empowering the justices to commit them as vagabonds. Various objections were made to this bill, as intrenching on the liberty of the subject, and increasing the power of the crown; but, after investigation, its necessity was found so strong, as to overrule the arguments of all opponents; and it was passed by a considerable majority.

While measures were thus taken to secure the innocent and industrious against the profligate and atrocious, lord Rawdon resumed his generous efforts for relieving the unfortunate, by a revision of the laws regarding debtor and creditor: his object was to compel the former to give up all he possessed; and to prevent the latter, after such a cession, from gratifying resentment by keeping a fellow creature in perpetual imprisonment: as the subject was of great importance, and required a full discussion of principles, his lordship was prevailed on to postpone its introduction till the following session, by which time it might obtain mature consideration.

Debates on the slave trade.

The slave trade again occupied attention; no fewer than 508 petitions, praying for the abolition of that nefarious traffic, having been presented to the house of commons in the early part of the present session: on the second of April, Mr. Wilberforce brought forward a motion to this effect in a committee of the whole house, where the abolitionists succeeded in the main question, though they were divided as to the time when suppression should take place. The minister, in a powerful and luminous speech, supported the mover in his pleadings for immediate action; asking why injustice was to be suffered to remain for a single hour? and, having entered at great length

into the effect which abolition would produce on the real interests of proprietors, the condition of negroes, and the safety of our islands, he showed that all arguments drawn from these sources pleaded strongly for an immediate, rather than a gradual operation. 'The origin of evil,' he observed in answer to those who placed slavery in the rank of necessary evils, 'is, indeed, beyond the reach of human understanding; and the permission of it by the Supreme Being is a subject, into which we are not concerned to inquire: but where the evil in question is a moral evil, which man can scrutinise, and where that moral evil has its origin within ourselves; let us not imagine that we can clear our consciences by this general, not to say, irreligious way of putting aside the question:' nor did he forget to urge on the house the influence which their decision would produce in other countries; or the prospect of a divine blessing to be drawn down upon their own, by exertions in so righteous a cause. Such were the opinions held by the premier respecting the abolition of slavery; but neither at this, nor at any other time, did he make it a cabinet question; contenting himself with speaking and giving his individual vote against it, while he left all other members of his administration to follow that line, which their own notions of policy, expediency, or right might dictate.

Mr. Pitt's eloquent and persuasive speech was received with loud applause; but he failed in his main object, immediate abolition; and though a motion made by Mr. Jenkinson, to introduce a plan for improving the treatment of slaves,[8] was rejected, yet the measure did not pass without the insertion of an amendment proposed by Mr. Dundas, making the abolition gradual. Wilberforce, however, having informed the house that he could not conscientiously bring in a bill on that principle, threw it wholly into the hands of the other; who, on the twenty-third of April, made a motion, embodying

[8] By means of which, he asserted, they would become more and more prolific; so that in a short time no importation would be required.

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twelve resolutions, one of which fixed the first of January, 1800, as the day on which all importation of slaves should cease; and an amendment by lord Mornington, that 1793 should be substituted for 1800, was lost; as also another, proposing that the trade should cease in 1795. Pitt consoled himself with thinking that the house had declared its opinion of this traffic; that all parties had concurred in reprobating it; and that even its advocates had been compelled to acknowlege its infamy: he declared there was not the slightest cause for apprehending that the plantations would not be in a fit state to carry on business, without fresh importations, in the year 1795, or in 1794, or even in 1793: as, however, the case was viewed by a majority of the house very much in the light of a commercial concern, an amendment proposed by sir Edward Knatchbull, fixing the abolition for the first of January, 1796, was carried by 151 against 132; on which, Mr. Dundas also declined any farther interference in the business.

In this state of the question, it was taken up by Pitt; who, being anxious that the abolition should take place at any period rather than none, undertook to bring in a bill; and on the second of May moved five of Mr. Dundas's resolutions, with modifications and amendments: these passed without opposition; and being reported that night, were communicated to the lords at a conference next day, with copies of all the information received by the commons: the object of such haste was, that a bill might be introduced as soon as possible, with the concurrence of both houses. On the eighth of May, when the question came under consideration, lord Stormont, who was adverse to the resolutions, made a motion for calling witnesses to the bar of the lords; as it would be derogatory to their dignity to rely solely on documents received from the other house: the reasonableness of hearing evidence could not be denied; but lord Grenville, who was a zealous advocate in the cause of abolition, proposed, for the sake of expedition, that the examination should be conducted by a committee: this amendment was

opposed by the lord chancellor and several other peers adverse to the resolutions; while the duke of Clarence, under whose reign the abolition of slave *labor* took place, opposed the abolition of the *trade* in a very able, comprehensive, and impressive speech; rejecting all theories, and arguing from facts and experience in favor of what he considered to be political and commercial expediency. Lord Grenville's amendment being negatived by a large majority, the original motion passed, and the examination of witnesses at the bar commenced: little progress, however, was made in it before the prorogation; for the time of the house was much occupied with the trial of Warren Hastings, and other public business; so that its introduction was necessarily postponed to the next session. On the nineteenth of March, a bill introduced by Pitt, encouraging the growth of timber for our navy, and improving the royal revenue arising out of the New Forest, by a sale of certain parts, and an enfranchisement of copyholds, passed the commons without much difficulty: but it met with a decided opposition in the upper house at the second reading, especially from the chancellor; his lordship objecting to its principle, as favoring the alienation of crown lands; on which ground he severely censured the reports of the commissioners, upon which it was founded: he asserted, that it was essential to the safety of the constitution, that the sovereign should have his interests blended with those of the landed property in the country: and although it was considered that the reflections which he cast on the advisers of this measure were directed against Pitt, yet the validity of his objections seemed to be admitted; for notwithstanding the commitment of the bill with a majority of forty-one to twenty-nine in its favor, it was postponed, and never afterwards resumed; other means being adopted for promoting the growth of timber.

Parliament was prorogued on the sixteenth of June; and the king, in his speech, lamenting the commencement of hostilities on the continent, declared that his principal care should be to maintain that harmony

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which at present subsisted between himself and the belligerent powers. The extraordinary manner in which lord Thurlow had, in several instances, opposed the minister,[9] and his perseverance in taking every opportunity to exhibit a personal dislike to Pitt, necessarily led to his dismissal from office; and the great seal was put into commission; but this event was not followed by a single resignation or change in any political or legal department. By the death of lord Guildford on the fifth of August, the wardenship of the cinque ports, worth about £3000 a year, became vacant; when his majesty offered it to Mr. Pitt in such gracious and pressing terms, that to decline it was impossible: nor did the minister, who had been for nine years employing his time and thoughts to promote his country's interests, and who had exhibited the strongest marks of disinterested patriotism, subject himself to the slightest imputation by acceding to his majesty's wishes.

Domestic events.

In May this year died the gallant Rodney, vice-admiral of England; who was succeeded in that high station by earl Howe. In the autumn all England was in a ferment, created by speculations in canal shares; to promote which, many new plans of navigation were undertaken, and almost incredible sums subscribed, principally by persons in the midland counties: before the end of the year, however, owing to political alarms, shares, which had acquired enormous premiums, fell to a twentieth, and some to a hundredth, of their previous price; by which multitudes were ruined: but among the domestic events of Great Britain, the exemplary instance of national charity toward the unfortunate French emigrants ought not to be forgotten. One of the first enormities of the revolutionists was the murder of a large portion

[9] It has been said, that the hazard of encountering his opposition in the house of lords induced Pitt to apply to his majesty to advance Mr. William Grenville to the peerage; he agreeing to conduct the public business in the upper house. — See Tomline, vol. iii. p. 401. Others, however, have asserted, that Mr. Grenville was the person kept ready by the king, to assume the office of prime minister, in case Pitt should run counter to his majesty's inclinations; and that Pitt determined to remove this nuisance by transplanting Mr. Grenville to the house of peers.

of their clergy, and the banishment of almost all the remainder: some thousands of those unhappy exiles found refuge in England, where a private subscription of £33,775 was immediately made for them: and when this was exhausted, a second was collected under the auspices of his majesty, which amounted to £41,304; while the secret beneficence of individuals contributed large sums to their relief:[10] the management of these funds was entrusted to a committee, of which Mr. Wilmot, one of the members for Coventry, was president: on him the burden of the trust almost wholly fell; and his humanity, judgment, and perseverance intitled him to high commendation. So numerous were the unfortunate exiles, and so destitute their condition, that they were long unable to procure proper clothes; while those which they had taken up as a disguise, when they were hunted down in France, exposed them to the derision, instead of the compassion of the populace: so suddenly had they been expelled from their country, that few had brought with them those devotional books, which had been the companions of their former life, and were to be the comfort of their future days: to relieve this calamity, the university of Oxford printed for them, at her sole expense, 2000 copies of the New Testament, according to the Latin Vulgate; to which 2000 more were added by the munificence of the marquis of Buckingham. When the wants of these sufferers exceeded the measure of private bounty, government took them under its protection; and though engaged in the most expensive war that any country ever waged, appropriated a monthly allowance of £8000 to their support, not without the approbation of the whole nation:—an instance of splendid and systematic liberality, of which the annals of the world furnish not another example.

East Indian affairs under lord Cornwallis.

As the war in the East Indies was concluded this year, it will be expedient to take a brief review of our affairs in that quarter of the world since the appointment of lord Cornwallis to the office of governor-

[10] These contributions were exclusive of those granted for the relief of lay emigrants.

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general. In September, 1786, his lordship arrived at Calcutta, furnished with an extensive code of instructions, the joint production of the board of control and court of directors; vested also with enlarged powers conferred on him by the new act of parliament. His attention was in the first instance engaged by the state of our connexion with the nabob of Oude, who complained bitterly of the pecuniary burdens to which he had been subjected. It appeared that, during the nine preceding years, he had paid to the company, under various claims, eighty-four lacs of rupees per annum; a sum vastly superior in amount to what he had bound himself to pay by the treaties of 1775 and 1781: but now an annual payment of fifty lacs was allowed to satisfy every claim; under a conviction, that this would not only indemnify the company for all expenses to which they might be liable from their connexion with the vizir, but that the prince himself had the means of making such annual disbursement without suffering in his convenience or dignity; the governor also promised to relieve him by recalling a part of our troops from his dominions whenever policy should warrant such a measure: the defence of his country was undertaken by the British, while its internal administration was left to his own exclusive management; though his lordship did not preclude himself from making representations on the subject whenever it might be essentially necessary: in the mean time, being aware of the character of Asuph u Dowla, he gave a decided support to the minister, Hyder Beg khan, who was favorable to the connexion subsisting between Great Britain and the states of India; assuring him, that he might rely on the English government, as long as he served his master with fidelity, governed the country with equity, and adhered to engagements formed with the honorable company.

The instructions given to lord Cornwallis by the court of directors coincided fully with a clause in the new act of our legislature, declaring, 'that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India,

are measures repugnant to the wish, the honor, and the policy of Great Britain.' It was farther made unlawful for the supreme government to engage in hostilities with any state, which had not commenced, or prepared to commence, war on us, or on some ally intitled to our protection; unless in cases where a previous sanction of the government in England had been obtained: the local government was also prohibited from entering into any treaty guaranteeing the possessions of a native prince, except where such party had engaged to aid the English in a war actually commenced, or about to commence: but the observations made by sir John Malcolm on this subject are so conducive to a right understanding of Indian affairs, that they must not be omitted.

'The spirit and object,' says he, 'of these laws were just and wise; for the great danger we had to encounter, from the very first, was a too rapid extension of empire; but our success in retarding, if we could not arrest, the growth of our greatness, evidently depended on the means we employed for this purpose; and the letter of the act in question went to fetter our government in the exercise of the most essential of these means: it forbade the seasonable use of that power and influence which we possessed, to check combination, or to counteract, while yet immature, the plans of ambition; prescribing to a state situated among despotic princes, who recognised no objects but conquest and power, a course of policy, which they could not appreciate, or even understand: these princes were consequently liable, from their ignorance and presumption, to mistake our motives of action; to think that moderation and forbearance were fear and weakness; and, under that delusion, to venture on a course which precipitated their ruin, and rendered our cautious and unwise policy productive of those very ends which it had been framed to avoid.'[11] 'Lord Cornwallis,' says the admirable writer above quoted, 'possed a union of firmness and moderation, which gave the best promise of preserving peace with the native

[11] Political History of India, vol. ii. p. 50.

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states, had that been possible: the aggression of Tippoo Sultan, however, forced him into a war.'

Hostilities of Tippoo.

Of all the native princes, Tippoo was most formidable to our government; most active in disturbing its authority, and opposing its interests. The peace of 1784 had, it was thought, secured his fidelity by very feeble ties; and a splendid embassy which he soon afterwards despatched to France, afforded reason to suspect that some plan was in agitation between the old government of that country, and the Mysorean tyrant, against British power: this, however, was defeated by the same cause which prevented a war with Spain;—the breaking out of the French revolution.

Judicious conduct of lord Cornwallis.

Lord Cornwallis had carried with him explicit orders to demand from the Nizam a surrender of the circar of Guntoor; the reversion of which, in consequence of the death of Basalut Jung in 1782, devolved on the company: it was not, however, till 1788, that affairs presented a favorable opportunity of pressing this demand; when the Nizam, on account of the unfortunate issue of a recent contest with Tippoo, was desirous of renewing his connexion with the company; and not only surrendered the circar, but by a letter, dated July, 1789, explanatory of the treaty of 1768, covertly concluded an offensive alliance against the sultan. A subsidiary force was to be granted to the Nizam, on his requisition, provided it did not act against powers in alliance with the company; from the list of whom Tippoo's name alone was excluded. The real character of this treaty did not escape the observation of the Mysorean prince; and it is evident that lord Cornwallis must have thought that an early war with him was inevitable: symptoms indeed of hostile designs, on the side of Mysore, had already manifested themselves; for early in the preceding year, Tippoo had descended the Ghauts at the head of an army; and, advancing to Coimbetoor and Dindigul, laid waste with fire and sword such of the polygars dependent on them, as had recently failed in their allegiance: at this time, the rajah of Travancore commu-

nicated to the Madras government his apprehension of being invaded at once from the east and from the north, in consequence of a minute investigation which had been made of the routes on each of those frontiers.

In the following January, a simultaneous rebellion of the natives of Coorg and Malabar recalled Tippoo into those provinces; and to the Nairs, inclosed by detachments of his troops, was offered the alternative of a voluntary profession of Mahometanism, or a forcible conversion to that faith, with deportation from their native land: so terrible was this idea, that vast numbers, incessantly hunted out of places of concealment, came forward to be circumcised, in order that they might escape a more cruel fate.[12] On his return to Coimbetoor, on account of the rains, the tyrant left six divisions of his army in Malabar, with distinct establishments of civil, military, and spiritual officers, charged with surveying the lands, numbering the productive trees, and converting the remaining Nairs: besides, while at Coimbetoor, he made a farther augmentation of his infantry, preparatory to war, which he undoubtedly meditated.

Tippoo was very anxious to achieve the conquest of Travancore, without appearing as a principal in the contest: he had, in 1788, agreed with the zamorin of Calicut, to restore to him a portion of his former possessions, on condition of his invading Travancore for the sultan, but in his own name, under a pretext of certain antiquated claims: this project, however, was foiled by Tippoo's precipitation in beginning the work of universal circumcision; which the zamorin resented, so much as to join in the general insurrection. The sultan now wished to make the rajah of Cochin his instrument for effecting the same object; and the president of Madras frankly communicated to him, in 1789, the fears and representations of the rajah of Travancore; adding, that any attack on this our ally

[12] Tippoo, in his account of this crusade, took credit to himself for having destroyed 8000 idol temples, many of them roofed with gold, silver, or copper, and all containing treasures buried at the feet of the idol.

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would be considered equivalent to a declaration of war: Tippoo's answer stated, that the interposition of his dependent, the rajah of Cochin, prevented the possibility of collision between him and the sovereign of Travancore.

This latter principality was defended on the north by a double line of works, beyond which lay part of the territory of the rajah of Cochin; though a considerable portion of that country, including the capital, was blended, on the southern side, with Travancore. These lines were more imposing than strong; as, in their whole extent of thirty miles, only a few stations were closed in the rear, and those imperfectly; so that nearly the whole would fall if a single point were carried: some time after their construction, Hyder Ali, who was extending his conquests over the Malabar chiefs, carried his arms against the Cochin territory without the wall; and the rajah, rather than lose that portion of his dominions, consented to become Hyder's tributary.

It is also necessary to observe, that part of these lines were on a strip of land, which had been ceded to Travancore by the chief of Cochin, in recompense for aid afforded to him in repelling an invasion of the zamorin of Calicut in 1761: they were also continued across the island of Vipeen, in rear of the Dutch fort of Ayacotta, and on ground purchased from the Dutch by the rajah of Travancore.

Tippoo now instructed his tributary rajah to demand restitution of those districts which had been ceded to Travancore, and promised him military aid to enforce the claim; at the same time, he declared to our Madras government, that the lines, by intersecting the country of his tributary, were virtually built on his own territory, and excluded him from visiting his dominions on each side of the wall: to obviate this difficulty, the rajah of Travancore renewed a long-pending negotiation with the Dutch for the purchase of Cranganore and Ayacotta, possessions situated within Cochin, but obtained, a century before, by conquest from the Portuguese. The validity of this purchase being

contested by Tippoo, on the score of an antiquated claim; the Madras government, with its usual fatuity, countenanced that pretext, and despatched a messenger, ordering the rajah to annul the contract, and restore those places to the Dutch; although the sultan himself had recognized a right of sale, by offering a much larger sum in order to obtain them: it also sanctioned another of his alleged grievances, by requiring the Travancore rajah to discontinue his protection to fugitive Nairs, who sought refuge in his dominions. Lord Cornwallis, being informed of these proceedings, directed that proposals should be sent to Tippoo for the appointment of commissioners on each side to try the points in dispute; at the same time declaring, that the first attack made by the sultan on any part of the territory of Travancore or Arcot, would place him in a state of war.

In May, 1789, Tippoo again descending to the coast, sent a summons to the fort of Cranganore; when the rajah prepared to join the Dutch in its defence; but after several demonstrations he retired, and placed his troops at Palaghautcherry and Coimbetoor: in December he re-advanced, and sent a *vakeel* to the rajah, announcing his demands; but his claims being denied, he approached the lines, and began to erect batteries: on the morning of the twenty-ninth, he penetrated them by the right flank, and introduced a part of his forces within the wall; but before he could arrive at the gate, through which he expected to admit all his troops, they met with an unexpected resistance, and fled in confusion; Tippoo himself being overturned with his palanquin in the ditch, and not escaping without severe bruises.

Lord Cornwallis, having received notice of these events, ordered the Madras government to exact from the sultan full amends for this wanton violation of treaty; and being relieved from all previous restrictions, he hastened to secure, by an offensive and defensive alliance, the co-operation of the Nizam: nor was it long before he concluded a similar treaty with the Mahratta court of Poonah.

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In the mean time, Tippoo sent letters to Madras, disavowing the late outrage, and ascribing it to unauthorized proceedings of his army: he also made professions of ardent friendship for the British; which were so credulously received as proofs of a pacific disposition, that all orders of the governor-general for the adoption of energetic measures were neglected; and the sultan, having renewed his attack, soon made himself master of the lines, and obtained possession of Cranganore: the troops of the rajah then fled in all directions, the lines were razed, and the northern district of Travancore was ravaged without mercy, until Tippoo retired to the defence of his own dominions, about the end of May.

The first operations of the British against Mysore were baffled by their opponent's activity; who attacked them in detail, as they advanced in three divisions; broke through their line of communication, and ultimately compelled them to abandon their plan of the campaign; for which success he was indebted to his superior system of intelligence, which never failed him: but though the war was transferred from Mysore to the Carnatic, the whole of Malabar was wrested from him by another British division, and placed under the company's dominion.

In February, 1791, Cornwallis, putting himself at the head of the army, entered Mysore by the pass of Mooglee, and reached Bangalore with little opposition on the fifth of March: the same day, colonel Floyd, being despatched with a part of the cavalry to reconnoitre, was tempted to attack Tippoo's rear, which at first appeared to give way; but being reinforced, soon rallied, and compelled its assailant to retreat: on the following day, the *pettah*, or town, was stormed with a loss of 100 men: on the twelfth, three batteries were opened on the citadel, but they were too distant to effect a breach; on the sixteenth, therefore, a new battery of nine guns was opened at 550 yards from the works; and on the twenty-first, the fort was stormed and taken, with little loss to the assailants, but with a dreadful carnage among the

garrison: not less than 1000 men were massacred with the bayonet; and 300, mostly wounded, were taken prisoners.

The fate of the campaign, and perhaps of the war, was decided by this blow: the evil consequences which would have ensued from a failure it is difficult to estimate; for the forage and grain found within the town had been long consumed; and that in the country around had all been destroyed: 'even the resource,' says colonel Wilks, 'of digging for the roots of grass within the limits of the piquets, had been so exhausted, that scarcely a fibre remained.' The most favorable result of raising the siege under these circumstances would have been a retreat, with the loss of our artillery, and pressed by all the energy with which such an event would have animated the foe. On the twenty-eighth, lord Cornwallis advanced northward, to effect a junction with the Nizam's cavalry, the cattle being reduced to skeletons, and scarcely able to move under their own weight: after being deceived by false intelligence, returning southward, and again retracing his steps in a northerly direction, he was met by his allies, in number about 10,000, well-mounted horsemen, who were expected to do good service in performing the duties of light troops: but they soon showed themselves worthless soldiers, unequal to the protection of their own foragers on ordinary occasions; so that, by consuming grain, they augmented the distress of the army, without affording it any advantage.

Retreat of lord Cornwallis.

On the thirteenth of May, the British forces reached Arikeram, about nine miles from the capital; where Tippoo, who had taken up a strong position six miles in their front, was brought to action and defeated: but the precipitation of lord Cornwallis, in advancing with imperfect equipments and deficient supplies, under incessant rains and defective intelligence, again nearly led to the destruction of his army, which was sadly wasted by disease and famine: after all the fatigue, and misery, and loss of life incurred, it was discovered, that not a single operation could be attempted; that the battering train must be destroyed,

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and a retreat instantly commenced: at the same time, orders were despatched to general Abercrombie, who was advancing from the west, to return to Malabar; when a similar destruction of his heavy artillery and equipments became necessary.

Scarcely had the troops under the governor-general begun this melancholy retreat, than they were very unexpectedly joined by the Mahrattas, under two Poonah chiefs, Hurry Punt and Purseram Bhow, bringing provisions and draught cattle; yet no suspicion had existed among the British of the existence of a Mahratta army within 150 miles of their march, although intelligence of its movements had been constantly despatched by messengers during the whole of their advance; so completely had Tippoo's light troops succeeded in cutting off all communication: the Mahrattas had ostensibly taken the field at the same period as the English; but their primary object being to recover the punjab of Krishna, they deviated from their route, for the purpose of attacking Darwar, its capital; by the siege of which they were long detained: after this, they proceeded to the conquest of the country north of the Toombuddra; but their tardy movements were the chief cause of our disasters: for if lord Cornwallis had only possessed, a few days sooner, information of their approach, the campaign would have assumed a very different character. As the loss of his battering train, general Abercrombie's return, and the state of the season, forbade his undertaking the siege of Seringapatam, the combined army, on the sixth of June, began to fall back on Bangalore; and in their way, the strong hill-fort of Hooliordroog was captured and dismantled: it now became necessary that the allied troops should separate during the inactive season. Hurry Punt alone remained with the English, who proceeded toward the south-east, to open a communication, by the Policade pass, with the Carnatic: Tippoo's garrison evacuated Oossoor at their approach; Rayacottah, one of the strongest of his fortresses, surrendered; and the other forts which defended the pass, either obeyed our summons, or

made a feeble resistance: by this newly opened route, a convoy, such as scarcely ever had been seen even in India, joined the army: it consisted of 100 elephants, loaded with treasure, marching two abreast, with the British standard displayed; 6000 bullocks[18] with rice; 100 carts with arrack; and several hundreds of coolies with other supplies.

While the army remained at Oossoor, Tippoo sent despatches, with offers to negotiate; but as his *vakeel* was commissioned to treat only with principals, and lord Cornwallis declined to meet a subordinate agent, he was sent back, without having been permitted to enter the camp. The remaining operations of this campaign consisted of the reduction of the formidable hill-forts of Nundydroog, Savendroog, Ootradroog, and some others: the first of these, built on the summit of a granite rock about 1700 feet in height, was quite inaccessible on three sides; and the only part which could be ascended was fortified by two strong walls, and an outwork covering the gateway with a flanking fire: against this place batteries were erected, after fourteen days of severe labor; and two breaches having been effected, it was stormed and gallantly carried, with a loss of only two men killed, and twenty-eight wounded, chiefly by huge stones hurled down the rock; but Savendroog, situated in the woody hills extending from the vicinity of Bangalore to the river Madoor, was deemed impregnable; and from the insalubrity of its impenetrable woods and thickets, it took its name; which signifies 'The Rock of Death.' The enormous mass of granite on which this fortress had been constructed, is much higher than Nundydroog, and rises from a base at least eight miles in circumference, apparently inaccessible from below on all sides: at the height of about two-thirds of its total elevation, a chasm divides it into two distinct works, each abundantly supplied with water: yet after the immense labor of cutting a way through the strong jungle, and of dragging heavy artillery over the intervening rocks and hills, both these aerial

[18] Nearly 40,000 bullocks had been lost in the last campaign.

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citadels were carried within one hour from the commencement of the assault, with a very moderate list of casualties, and without the loss of a single life in the attack itself. Ootradroog, a similar fortress, was also taken by escalade, without the loss of a single man; though many parts of the ascent were so steep, that a few resolute fellows might have defended it against any force: the forts of Ramgherry and Sevengherry surrendered after a slight resistance; and Hooliordroog, which had been re-occupied and repaired by the enemy, was retaken, and held as a post of communication: during these proceedings, the only advantages gained by Tippoo consisted in the recovery of Coimbetoor, and a few successful attacks made against the Mahrattas under Purseram Bhow.

Preparations for the siege of Seringapatam.

At length, being joined by the Hyderabad and Poonah contingencies, lord Cornwallis began his march toward Seringapatam on the first of February, 1792; and on the fifth he took a position across the valley of Milgotah, about six miles from the capital; under the walls of which the sultan's army awaited his approach. Seringapatam is situated on an island formed by two branches of the river Cavery; and around it ran the usual fence, called 'the bound hedge,' composed of immense shrubs of the prickly pear, bamboos, &c., which formed a rampart of no inconsiderable strength. On the northern side, where the confederated army had taken up its position, an oblong space, about three miles long, and from half a mile to a mile broad, was enclosed between the hedge and the river; and there Tippoo lay encamped on very commanding ground, the natural strength of which was increased by six large redoubts; one of these, at the western extremity, called the Mosque redoubt, being a post of great importance, and covering the left of the encampment; while the right was defended by fortifications on a hill called the Carighaut, at the base of which a branch of the river Lockany enters the Cavery: at the western angle of the island rose the strong fortress of Seringapatam; the eastern part, where was the palace and beautiful gardens of

Tippoo, being fortified by redoubts and batteries: thus the fortress and island became, as it were, a second line of defence, or the body of a place behind its outworks: heavy cannon in the redoubts, and a well-disposed field train of 100 pieces, defended the first line; and at least 300 more were advantageously placed in the fort and island. Tippoo's army amounted to 5000 cavalry and above 40,000 infantry; he commanded the centre and right of the line in person, and had his tent near the most easterly of the six redoubts, which on that account was called the sultan's: unable to keep the field against a powerful combination, he hoped that, by concentrating his forces within these strong defences, he might be able to protract the war, until disease, and want of supplies in a country totally exhausted, should compel his enemies to retreat.

The British commander did not suffer his troops to enjoy a long repose in their position; for on the evening of the sixth, immediately after parade, they were directed to fall in again with their arms and ammunition: every thing was properly disposed at half-past eight o'clock, when the order was given to march; and as celerity was of great consequence, and guns could be of little service in the dark, it was resolved that none should be employed: the right division, consisting of 3300 infantry, was commanded by general Meadows; the centre, consisting of 3700, by lord Cornwallis in person; and the left, which only amounted to 1700, by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell. The evening was perfectly serene; and the troops were moving on by the moon's light in awful silence, when the centre column, within a mile of the bound-hedge, fell in with the enemy's grand guard, or body of cavalry, coming to disturb the British camp: finding themselves thus discovered, the column pushed on with extraordinary speed; and entered the lines in less than a quarter of an hour after intelligence of their advance reached the sultan. Tippoo, who had just finished his evening repast, mounted his charger, and perceived not only a crowd of fugitives, but also

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an extended column passing through his camp toward the main ford: as this threatened his retreat, he started off with great rapidity; and had barely time to cross and take shelter in the fort: but during this movement, an immense number of his troops deserted; and among them a corps 10,000 strong, consisting of those whom he had forcibly removed from Coorg. Our right column met with greater obstructions; for being led to a more distant point than was intended by lord Cornwallis, it was later in reaching the hedge; the battle, however, became general before noon, and continued till daybreak; when the British had completely broken up the sultan's position, and obtained other signal advantages: the contest was sustained in various parts during the whole of the seventh; when the guns of the fort, which had been silent during the night, opened on the assailants wherever they could be reached. The most desperate conflict took place at the sultan's redoubt, which was defended by a small party under major Kelly, against three vigorous attacks, seconded by a heavy cannonade from the fort: a considerable force advanced, about five in the evening, to dislodge the British from the island, but was repulsed; and the night passed without any alarm, while the enemy's troops were withdrawn from all the redoubts: on the morning of the eighth, the remains of his army were collected; the infantry, within the works of the fort; the cavalry and baggage, on the south side of the river, toward Mysore.

Arrangements were now made for besieging the fortress, which, with its works, occupied the space of one mile: its two longest sides were defended by the river, which is both deep and broad: the northern face, toward the island, was covered with strong outworks and two massy ramparts, having flank defences, a deep ditch, drawbridges, and every advantage of modern fortification: on this side, however, it was determined to attack it; and on the eighteenth, trenches were opened at the distance of 1800 yards. In the mean time, general Abercrombie had effected a junction with our forces; and such an abundance of

supplies was maintained in the camp, as had not been known since the commencement of the war: the soldiers, in high spirits, carried on the operations of a siege, excited by the hope of liberating the survivors of their murdered countrymen: and lord Cornwallis calculated on opening his batteries by the first of March. Thus pressed in every quarter; his palace and beautiful gardens being in possession of the enemy; his whole power reduced within the narrow limits of a citadel, the defence of which was very doubtful; the subdued spirit of the sultan seems to have given way with his tottering fortunes, and to have desired peace on almost any terms. As a preliminary step toward an accommodation, he released lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, who had been taken prisoners; and, at their departure, presented them with two shawls and 500 rupees. Soon afterwards, he despatched a *vakeel* to the camp to sue for peace, which the British general at last granted on the following severe terms:—first, that the sultan should cede one half of his dominions to the allied powers; secondly, that he should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees, to indemnify them for the expenses of the war; thirdly, that he should release all prisoners; and, fourthly, should deliver two of his sons, as hostages for the due execution of this treaty.

Conditions of peace.

On the twenty-sixth of February, the young princes, each mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, proceeded to the British camp, where they were received by the governor, in the midst of his staff: the eldest, Abul Kalik, was about ten; the youngest, Mouza-uddeen, about eight years of age: they were attired in white muslin robes, with red turbans richly decorated; and having been educated from infancy with the utmost care, they manifested all the reserve and politeness which generally attend maturer years: the almost parental kindness with which they were treated by lord Cornwallis seemed to afford them peculiar satisfaction; some presents were exchanged on both sides; and the whole proceeding exhibited a scene at once novel and interesting to the spectators.

Delivery of hostages.

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In adjusting the terms of this definitive treaty, when the sultan found that the principality of Coorg was included in his cessions, he became almost frantic with rage: during the studied procrastination that ensued, it was observed that extensive repairs in the fortress were carried on, and the *vakeels* began to bluster and temporise. By sending his sons as hostages, and advancing a crore of rupees, Tippoo had gained an invaluable portion of time, during which the British troops had suffered greatly from inaction, and the insalubrity of the place: their numbers in the hospitals began to increase alarmingly; many of the materials prepared for a siege had perished; the trenches were so damaged as to require reconstruction; and, as it afterwards appeared, one of the persons entrusted with the conduct of these negotiations had held a secret correspondence with the sultan during the whole period: at this critical moment, if lord Cornwallis had long hesitated about his line of action, he would probably have been undone; but he fortunately possessed a firm and decisive character: sending off his hostages toward the Carnatic, he ordered his guns to be replaced in the batteries, and preparations immediately commenced for renewing the siege; when Tippoo, alarmed by such prompt measures, consented, on the nineteenth of March, to sign the definitive treaty.

By concessions now made, the frontier boundary of the Mahrattas was extended to the Toombuddra, as it existed in 1779: the territory obtained by the Nizam reached from the Krishna beyond the Penna, including the province of Kurpa, with the forts of Guntjecotah and Cudapa; while the English gained Malabar and Coorg, the province of Dindigul, and Baramahal, which formed 'an iron boundary' to Coromandel. In a military point of view, it was thought that Bangalore, and the districts which connect it with the Ghauts, would have been more valuable to us than Coorg; as they would have formed a complete defence against the sultan's future hostility; but lord Cornwallis was desirous of reconciling the vanquished prince, as far as possible, to his humbled condition;

and was also anxious to protect the wretched inhabitants of Coorg, who had shown great zeal in our cause, against that horrible vengeance which the tyrant had prepared for them as soon as they should come within his power: 'the whole course of his lordship's conduct on this memorable occasion,' as sir John Malcolm justly observes, 'exhibited a union of good feeling, manly simplicity, and firmness; which added, as much as his victories in the field, to the fame of his country.'

No specific change was made, after the termination of this war, in the relations subsisting between the company and the Nizam; though jealousies began to disturb our alliance with the Mahrattas, when they saw the shield of British power interposed between them and the Nizam, whom they had long destined for their prey: an additional cause of dissatisfaction was the refusal of lord Cornwallis to suffer a British detachment to remain permanently with the peishwah's army; who, under pretext of reducing his refractory dependents to obedience, was anxious to employ it against Madhajee Sindia; a chieftain who had firmly established his dominion over the Mogul provinces, which the Poonah ministers beheld with great jealousy: he at this time possessed a formidable corps of regular infantry under French officers; he had erected founderies and arsenals; and made a larger accumulation of warlike materials than any native prince in India. Sensible, however, as lord Cornwallis was of the formidable increase of his power, he regarded all direct attempts to check it as contrary to the late act of parliament, and therefore unlikely to obtain approbation from the authorities at home: when, however, intelligence arrived in July from Delhi, that the emperor had signified a hope of obtaining, through the exertions of Sindia, some tribute from Bengal, the British resident at Sindia's court was instructed to make a spirited remonstrance against the manner in which he was using his imperial captive's name, and to caution him against forcing our government to depart

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from its pacific system by any rash and unjust demands.

Until the last year of lord Cornwallis's administration, peace subsisted between England and France; a circumstance of great importance in the war against Tippoo, as it enabled the governor to call into operation all the British forces. In 1793, when accounts arrived of the commencement of war with the French republic, Pondicherry was attacked by general sir John Braithwaite; and that place, with all the other French settlements, was soon added to our possessions: lord Cornwallis, who had hastened from Bengal for the purpose of directing this service, found it already performed; he therefore set sail in August for England, where he was received in a manner corresponding to his great deserts: in the year previous he had been raised to the dignity of a marquis.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1792.

State of public mind in Great Britain during the recess of parliament—Country placed in a condition of defence—Meeting of parliament—King's speech—Debates on the address, &c.—Fox's motion to send a minister to the French government—Pitt's speech on resuming his seat—Conference between M. Maret and Pitt—Correspondence between M. Chauvelin and lord Grenville—M. Chauvelin's letters of credence from the French government rejected—Personal interview refused—Passing of the alien bill—Farther proof of the warlike intentions of France—Matters approach to a crisis—Execution of Louis XVI.—All diplomatic intercourse ceases—King's message to the house of commons—Motion for an address of thanks by Pitt—Debates on it—Carried without a division—Observations on the necessity of the war—Proceedings of the British government justified by the event—Declaration of war—Reflections thereon—Declaration of war notified to parliament—Addresses—Various motions rejected—Message respecting the Hanoverian troops—The budget, &c.—Traitorous correspondence bill—Army and Navy—French application for a negotiation unnoticed—Subsidy, &c. to Sardinia—Relief granted to mercantile men—Renewal of the East India company's charter, &c.—Bill to relieve the Roman catholics of Scotland—Board of agriculture established—Hastings's trial—Bill to reform parliament rejected—Affairs of Ireland from 1786 to 1793—First great coalition—Affairs of France to the end of the second campaign—First naval encounter in the channel.

State of the public mind in England.

)URING the recess of parliament a very considerable ›eling of disquietude existed in this country. In the arly part of the year, both the navy and army had een reduced, in pursuance of a recommendation from he throne; and our government had resisted the most rgent solicitations to join the confederacy against rance: even after the deposition of Louis, on the

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tenth of August, our ambassador was ordered, before he left a capital where monarchy was virtually extinct, to renew his assurances of British neutrality; and the French minister, M. le Brun, declared that his government felt confident 'that the British cabinet would not, at this decisive moment, depart from the justice, moderation, and impartiality which it had hitherto manifested:'[1] but when the national convention began to hold out the hand of fraternity to other countries, their proceedings naturally excited suspicion; and this feeling was heightened into aversion when they endeavored to draw England also into the revolutionary vortex.[2] With regard to considerations more strictly political, the war with Austria might have been overlooked; although even that has been clearly proved to have been provoked by the French government, in order to favor the abolition of royalty:[3] but when Savoy was incorporated with France, in contradiction to the formal renunciation of all plans of conquest; when Belgium was declared independent, under the protection of France; when the navigation of the Scheldt was opened, in disregard of all existing relations between European states; and a decree of the sixteenth of November ordered French troops to pursue the fugitive Austrians into the Dutch territories;[4]—then it was that the British government thought it expedient to place their country in a state of defence: accordingly the militia was called out, the Tower strengthened, and parliament summoned to meet on the thirteenth of December. Never did more important objects demand its attention; never were interests more complicated than those which resulted from two subjects closely interwoven with each other;—the

Meeting of parliament.

[1] See State Papers in Annual Register, vol. xxxiv. p. 327.

[2] The designs of the revolutionary party in this country were very powerfully counteracted by an 'association against republicans and levellers,' instituted by Mr. John Reeves in the beginning of November this year, which was very generally joined, and gave an important turn to public opinion. Similar associations for preserving our constitution were multiplied in all parts of the kingdom, which soon put a stop to the boast of the French convention, 'that our respectable islanders, once their masters in the social art, had now become their disciples.'—See Annual Register for 1793, p. 137.

[3] See Marsh's Politics, vol. ii. p. 132, &c.

[4] Annual Register for 1793, p. 165.

operation of jacobinical principles, and the advances of French power. In the king's speech, that dangerous principle of interference with other states, lately proclaimed and acted on by the rulers of France, was strongly pointed out. 'I have carefully observed,' said his majesty, 'a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from interference in the internal affairs of France: but it is impossible to see, without serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have there appeared of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandisement; as well as to adopt toward my allies, the States-General, who have observed the same neutrality as myself, measures conformable neither to the law of nations, nor to the stipulations of existing treaties.'

On moving the address, a memorable debate arose, in which Fox declared his firm conviction, that there was not one fact stated in the speech which was not false, or one assertion which was not unfounded: while he acknowleged that the calamities of a neighboring kingdom ought to deter men from forming experimental governments, he denied that there had been any insurrection in this realm to warrant the measure of calling out the national militia. Admitting that there had been riots in some places, he asserted, that the parties concerned in them had no design to subvert the constitution, which they acknowleged as a source of blessings to all classes: a miserable pretext had been held out of imaginary dangers, for assembling parliament in an extraordinary way, that the country might be plunged into a foreign war: under a pretence of guarding our constitution against republicans and levellers, there was a great risk of running into an opposite evil;—that of increasing the power of the crown, and degrading the house of commons. It was at such a period as the present, that the most dangerous, because the most unexpected attacks, were made on the dearest rights of the people, when

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the minds of men were agitated by the 'idiotic clamor of republican frenzy, and popular insurrection.' He was aware that his opinions respecting our situation were unpopular, and that a general alarm did prevail; but this had been created by ministerial arts: nevertheless he condemned many of the associations; and recommended a repeal of the test and corporation acts, a reform of parliament, and a removal of those disabilities to which Roman catholics were subject, as the best means of quieting alarm, and putting an end to all causes of complaint: he considered the societies lately formed in some parishes of Westminster, to obtain registers of strangers resident therein, and prevent seditious newspapers from being read in public-houses, as inconsistent with our laws and constitution, militating against all freedom of opinion and liberty of the press: he asserted, that there was at present more danger from the exploded doctrine of despotism than from any new-fangled theory of republicanism; although some societies had indulged themselves in frantic speculations, and had published toasts which he thought objectionable. In speaking of French affairs, he censured the recall of our ambassador from Paris; confessing that he had rejoiced in the duke of Brunswick's defeat, because his success would have ruined the cause of liberty, not only in France, but in England; nay, would have ruined the liberty of man: he called the action at Jemappe a glorious victory, although it made France mistress of the Netherlands, while it facilitated the invasion of Holland; and he concluded with a motion, to leave out of the address all those expressions which acknowleged the existence of seditious practices dangerous to the constitution, and also those which related to hostile proceedings of the French government; instead of which he proposed to substitute a few sentences, expressive of anxiety and concern regarding measures which had been adopted by our executive government, and which were authorised by law only in cases of insurrection; assuring his majesty, that his faithful commons would make it their first business to inquire into facts stated in his speech,

on account of which parliament had been assembled in a manner so new and alarming to the country.

Mr. Burke said, that this day was indeed a trial of the constitution: he agreed with an honorable gentleman, in regarding the present as a momentous crisis; but for reasons very different from those assigned by him: he was sensible how closely liberty and monarchy were connected in this country; that they were never found separate; that they had florished together 1000 years; and from such a union had sprung the prosperity and glory of our nation: what he dreaded, should French principles extend their influence here, was the destruction of all social order: he would affirm, that there was a faction among ourselves, desirous of rendering us subject to France, in order that our government might be reformed on the French system: he would likewise affirm, that the French rulers, cherishing views against this country, encouraged that faction, and were disposed to aid it in overturning our constitution: as a proof of this, he read from their own gazette an account of proceedings, when a deputation of Englishmen was admitted to the bar of the convention, on the very day in which there had been a discussion respecting the union of Savoy and France: to their republican address, the president, in his reply, observed, 'that royalty in Europe was in the agonies of death; that the declaration of right, now placed by the side of thrones, was a fire, which in the end would consume them; and he even hoped that the time was not far distant, when France, England, Scotland, Ireland—all Europe!—all mankind! would form but one peaceful family:' if Englishmen had applied to Louis XVI. to reform our government, he asked whether such language would not have been considered as an aggression? What rendered our own factions particularly dangerous, was their connexion with the band of French robbers and assassins, who had declared war against all kings, and consequently against this country, if it had a king: the question now was, not whether we should present an address to the throne, but whether we should have a throne at

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all: he concluded with recommending unanimity, and representing the danger which might arise from the progress of French arms, if not speedily resisted; their power had already become formidable to the whole of Europe; and if we would not have Europe go from us, we must interpose effectually to stop their career.

Mr. Dundas and others spoke on the same side, referring, in proof of existing danger, to numerous societies of a mischievous tendency, established in every part of our realm; the addresses of these societies to the national convention, and the constant communication kept up between their principal members and French agents; the circulation of seditious pamphlets; actual insurrections in several specified places; and one instance, where a tree of liberty, the emblem of French doctrines, had been planted amid shouts of 'liberty and equality! no excise! no king!' Hence arose that general alarm which pervaded all ranks, visible to every one not determined to shut his eyes against it; and evinced by loyal associations, and declarations of attachment to the constitution, spontaneously made in almost every part of the kingdom. The only mode of counteracting the joint design of domestic and foreign foes, and averting from this country the calamities which had desolated France, was for the legislature to second these exertions of the well-disposed part of the community by vigorous measures: any endeavor to remove discontents by concession would be vain, when the constitution itself was held out as a grievance to be removed; and the people were taught that the present was the time to assert their rights, and, with the assistance of France, to follow the example of that country. Mr. Pitt was not present at this debate, in consequence of having vacated his seat by accepting the office of warden of the cinque ports: when the house divided, there appeared for the amendment fifty votes, and against it two hundred and ninety. In the lords the address was carried without a division, though not without opposition from the duke of Norfolk, and the lords

Lansdowne, Rawdon, and Stanhope: a great defection from the whig party had taken place in the upper house; and at the head of the seceders were the prince of Wales, the duke of Portland, lords Fitzwilliam, Spencer, Mansfield, and Loughborough; the last of whom had lately been made chancellor.

The decisive majority against Fox's amendment did not deter that gentleman from renewing his opposition to the address, when reported on the following day; and from offering another amendment, the object of which was, to induce his majesty to open negotiations with France, for the purpose of preventing war. The motion was opposed by Burke in a vehement speech, affirming 'that to send an ambassador to France would be a prelude to the murder of our own sovereign: in the absence of the premier, Mr. secretary Dundas entered into a long and elaborate vindication of the measures of administration, concluding with a confident prediction, 'that if we were forced into a war, it would prove successful and glorious.' The amendment was negatived without a division.

Not discouraged by the ill success of these attempts, Mr. Fox, on the fifteenth of December, made a very forcible speech, which he concluded by moving, 'that a minister be sent to Paris, to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the executive government of France.' This, he said, would imply neither approbation nor disapprobation of that government; and he enforced his motion by many instances of ministers sent to various courts, at a time when they were concerned in the most nefarious transactions; but in none of those instances was any sanction given directly or indirectly to their proceedings. Mr. Windham having laid it down as an axiom of policy, 'that to be justified in negotiating with France, it should be a matter of necessity, not of choice;'—Mr. Sheridan exclaimed,—'Happy, dignified opportunity to treat! when necessity—a necessity arising from defeat and discomfiture, from shame and disgrace—shall compel us to negotiate on terms which will leave us completely at the mercy of our enemies! How consolatory

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to be able to boast that we were at the same time justified and undone! But we are told,' he continued, 'that to treat with France would give offence to the allied powers, with whom we are eventually to co-operate: are we then prepared to make a common cause with them, on the principles, and for the purposes, which have led those despots into an association? are British freemen ready to subscribe to the manifesto of the duke of Brunswick?—that detestable outrage on the rights and feelings of humanity;—that impotent and wretched tissue of pride, folly, and cruelty, which had steeled the heart and maddened the brain of France! On what principle shall we go to war? To restore ancient despotism? Impossible: disputes and causes of complaint existing, how were they to be terminated but by some sort of negotiation? But, it is said, the dignity of the nation forbids a public and avowed communication with the ruling powers of that country: was national dignity then better consulted by the mean subterfuge of an indirect and underhand intercourse? was it sacrificed by a magnanimous frankness, and sustained only by a dark insidious disguise? Instead of recalling our ambassador from his post in the late perilous crisis, a wise and politic administration would have regarded it as a situation which demanded the ablest talents in the country; as affording scope and interest for the noblest mind that ever warmed a human breast. The French had been uniformly partial, nay even prejudiced, in favor of the English: what manly sense and generous feeling; above all, what fair truth and plain dealing might have effected, it was difficult to calculate: but the policy, which discarded them, and substituted in their stead a hollow neutrality, was an error fatal in its consequences, and for ever to be lamented.' The motion was in the end rejected without a division.

Mr. Pitt, having been re-elected for the university of Cambridge, resumed his seat on the eighteenth; and taking an early opportunity of reference to the foregoing debates, declared his conviction of the truth

of the facts stated, and his intire approbation of the arguments urged in support of the address. He knew, from unquestionable authority, the situation of the country to be such, that the smallest spark might produce a dreadful explosion; and he added, 'that to send an ambassador to France, under present circumstances, would be incompatible with the dignity of the crown, and contrary to the interests of the public; counteracting and disclaiming those very principles, on which the whole of our conduct was founded.' He learned with pleasure the decided opinion expressed by all parties; and if war should appear necessary, it ought to be carried on with vigor: but at the same time he assured the house, that nothing, consistent with the dignity of the crown, the internal safety of the country, and the general security of Europe, should be omitted by government to avert the calamities of war.

Conferences between French and English ministers.

Hitherto all the aggression had been on the part of France, for which satisfaction was due; and the French professed to wish for a pacific adjustment; conformably to these professions, M. Maret, who succeeded le Brun as foreign minister, had come over to England, that he might confer with Pitt. His Britannic majesty had avoided all discussion respecting the diplomatic capacity of ministers sent by the executive council of France, because an admission of their official character would have been to admit the executorial competency of their employers: Pitt therefore and Maret did not meet as official ministers of England and France; though they did meet; and their conversation, as detailed from Maret's communication,[5] showed that the British statesman earnestly desired to preserve peace; while the other endeavored to explain the obnoxious decree of the nineteenth of November, as not intended to apply to England. On the subject of the Scheldt, he stated that the order of council, and decree of the convention, respecting that navigation, founded as they were on the most sacred principles

[5] By Mr. Miles, a confidential friend of M. Maret, in a work styled 'Authentic Correspondence.'

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of Gallic liberty, were irrevocable; thus admitting, that the internal change in France was considered by its votaries as authorising them to violate the rights of independent nations: the same questions were agitated with greater detail, in the latter part of this year, between M. Chauvelin and lord Grenville; though the former was not acknowleged in an official capacity. Chauvelin, after expressing a strong desire to know whether France was to consider England as a neutral or as a hostile power, still maintained the right of opening the Scheldt; though he declared, by order of the executive council, that if, at the end of the war, the Belgians, free and unfettered, should relinquish that navigation, the French would offer no opposition: he deprecated any hostile interpretation of the decree of fraternisation; and declared that France would not attack Holland, while the latter power adhered to the principles of neutrality. These professions were not satisfactory to the British minister, being contradicted by facts: the application of the principles of the decree to Great Britain, appeared plain from a public reception given, and speeches made, to deputies from seditious associations, on various occasions: with regard to Holland, the very act of opening the Scheldt was an attack on that country; and England could never consent that France should arrogate to herself the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under pretence of a natural right, the political system of Europe, established by treaties, and guaranteed by all its powers: if France was really anxious to maintain peace and friendship with Great Britain, her course was to renounce every view of aggression or aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other nations, disturbing their tranquillity, or violating their rights. In January following, new credential letters were sent to M. Chauvelin, with a memorial from the executive council, repeating its desire to maintain harmony between the two kingdoms; and explaining the decree, as not intended to favor sedition,

but as merely applicable to a case, where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should invoke fraternity and assistance from the French nation. Sedition, it was said, can never exist in the expression of a general will: the Dutch were not seditious when they formed a generous resolution of throwing off the Spanish yoke; nor was it accounted a crime in Henry IV. and queen Elizabeth to afford them assistance: as to the right of navigation on the Scheldt, it was a question of absolute indifference to England, of little consequence to Holland, but of immense importance to the Belgians, who were not parties to the treaty of Westphalia, when they were deprived of that right: if, when in full possession of liberty, they should decline it, France would offer no opposition. With respect to the charge of aggrandisement, it was repeated, that France had renounced, and still renounced, all ideas of conquest: her occupation of the Netherlands would only continue till peace should be concluded: if these explanations appeared insufficient, France, having done every thing in her power to preserve harmony, would prepare for war; she would combat the English, whom she esteemed, with regret, but without fear. Lord Grenville's reply to this memorial declared, that instead of reparation and retraction, nothing had been offered but a deceptive negotiation; consequently, that every motive for preparation on the side of Great Britain still continued; if, however, the French council had any farther explanations to give under this extra-official form, he would willingly attend to them: but in a separate note, M. Chauvelin was informed, that his majesty was not disposed to receive his new letters of credence from the French republic: the envoy then requested a personal interview; but that was also refused.

As the revolution caused a great influx of Frenchmen into this country, of whom some came for the sole purpose of exciting discontent and sedition among his majesty's subjects, ministers had in December last introduced into the house of lords an alien bill: this went to enact, that any foreigner, refusing to leave the

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kingdom when ordered by his majesty, should be liable to commitment, brought to trial, and sentenced to imprisonment for a month, and afterwards to removal within a limited time, under pain of transportation for life: also that every alien, who had arrived in England since January 1, 1792, should give a detailed account of himself to a magistrate of the district where he resided: that every one, who might hereafter arrive, should give to the officer of the port where he landed a similar account, indicating also his place of destination, and waiting for a passport; that his majesty might appoint places for the residence of aliens; and that copies of the accounts given by them might be transmitted to the secretary of state. This bill met with considerable opposition, as appearing to be without precedent, and uncalled for; but it seemed to the majority a proper measure of precaution and self-defence; merely rejecting the emissaries of republicanism, regicide, and atheism, while it left the road open to innocent or meritorious sufferers: Mr. Burke, speaking in its favor, introduced a very novel species of oratory, in which he hazarded the ridiculous by attempting the sublime. Having for some time commented on a decree of the convention, which indirectly recommended the sword as an instrument in the system of fraternisation, he mentioned the circumstance of 3000 daggers having been ordered at Birmingham; and as a tangible illustration of his statement and argument, he drew forth one concealed under his coat; and, flinging it with violence on the floor of the house; 'that,' he exclaimed, pointing to the weapon, 'that is what you are to gain by an alliance with France: wherever their principles are introduced, their practice will follow; you must equally proscribe their persons and their tenets from your shores.' His political opponents designated this unusual peroration as a wretched pantomimical trick, unworthy of a great orator, who knew how to command the attention and sympathy of the house by other and more legitimate means:[6] the bill, however, which was not intended to

[6] 'The honorable gentleman,' said one of them, 'has shown us the knife; let

continue in force beyond the end of next session, passed the commons, as it had passed the lords, without a division; and received the royal assent on the eighth of January this year; when Pitt, not considering any other measure at present necessary to preserve public tranquillity, proposed and carried an adjournment to the twenty-third.

Hostile proceedings of the French government.

To proofs already adduced of warlike intentions entertained by the French government against this country, may be added a circular letter sent by Monge, minister of marine, to the sea-ports of France; in which, speaking of our English democrats, he said;—'We will fly to their assistance; we will make a descent on that island; we will hurl thither 50,000 caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree, and stretch out our arms to our brother republicans: the tyranny of their government shall soon be destroyed.' This letter, with a resolution of the executive council accompanying it on the seventh of January, the very day before le Brun signed his pacific note to lord Grenville, caused great activity in the French ports; where it was considered as the signal for an immediate attack on England: besides, on the thirteenth, three days after the order had been given for invading Holland, an addition of thirty line of battle ships was made to the French navy, for the avowed purpose of acting against this country, though France had in commission more ships than we were preparing in our ports: it seems clear therefore that the Gallic rulers expected hostilities to follow the invasion of Holland; and with regard to that measure, Dumouriez confessed, that le Brun, early in January, desired him to pay no attention to negotiations then depending with England and Holland; meaning, of course, that they were not intended to produce any effect. Dumouriez communicated this information on the tenth of January to Miranda, who commanded the army in his absence; directing him to make arrangements with all

him now produce the fork.' From lord Eldon's Correspondence (vol. i. p. 217.) it seems that he, who was then solicitor-general, obtained this specimen dagger, which he kept 'as a great curiosity.'

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possible secresy for invading the Dutch territory within twelve days, according to a plan laid down by the French minister: yet only two days after these secret orders had been given, the convention passed a decree, directing the council to inform our government that it was the intention of the republic to maintain peace and fraternity with England, and to respect her independence, as well as that of her allies, so long as they should not attack France.[7]

Execution of Louis XVI.

Matters, however, were soon brought to a crisis. The French revolutionists did not think their triumph complete, or their position secure, until they had displayed the scene of a royal execution; their king, therefore, was brought to the bar of the convention: the Girondists desired his condemnation, not his death; but they feared to risk their popularity by endeavoring to save him, although his cause was in fact their own; and a few of the most distinguished of the party eloquently predicted the future miseries of France, and the consequent elevation of a revolutionary chief, in their anxiety to avert the fatal decree: but the terrorists of the Mountain prevailed, and Louis was doomed to the scaffold: he received, without emotion, the news of this sentence, communicated to him by the minister of justice; for it had been before announced by his intrepid advocate Malesherbes; to whom he declared, as a man about to appear before God, 'that he had never formed a wish in opposition to the happiness of his people:' he asked three days to prepare himself for another world; requesting also to be assisted in his devotions by the abbé Edgeworth, whom he named as his confessor; and to have free communication with his wife and children: but the two latter demands only were conceded.

At seven in the evening the unfortunate monarch was visited by his family; and during this melancholy interview, he related to them the circumstances of his trial, and endeavored to console the distracted queen and princesses, who found utterance only in convulsive sobs of anguish: at parting, he promised to see them

[7] See Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 512, &c.

early on the morrow; but when he was alone in his chamber, he felt that such a trial would be too severe; and as he walked about the room, he said to himself, 'I shall not go:' this was the last struggle; after which he thought only of his preparation for eternity. He slept tranquilly on the night preceding his execution; and when his faithful valet, Cléry, awakened him, at five o'clock, he made his will; then, having received the sacrament, he charged Cléry with his last words, and with all that he was permitted to dispose of—a ring, a seal, and some of his hair. Already the roll of drums, and a confused sound of artillery, as it was dragged along the streets, announced the approach of Santerre, who came to conduct his monarch to the fatal scaffold: but without waiting to be summoned, Louis observed; 'you are come for me; let us proceed;' and seating himself in a coach between two *gendarmes*, he was conducted through a double line of soldiers to the place of execution. Having mounted the ladder with a firm step, and received on his knees a blessing from the priest, amid the deep silence even of the surrounding rabble, he allowed his hands to be bound, though with considerable reluctance, and then said, 'I die innocent; I forgive my enemies: and you, unfortunate people ——' At that moment, a signal for the drums to beat was given: their sound drowned his voice; he was seized by three executioners; and at a few minutes past ten the fatal stroke fell, which avenged on this unfortunate prince the long account of insolence, oppression, and tyranny, connected with his race.

As not the shadow of a government now remained in France, all diplomatic intercourse with her necessarily ceased; M. Chauvelin received notice to quit the British dominions within eight days; and a war with the republic became no longer a matter of choice: the determination of its rulers plainly appeared on the twenty-fifth, when a report was made relative to an organisation of land forces; and it was proposed that England should be invaded by an army of 40,000 men: an expedition was also contemplated against the

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Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Le Clos, who was afterwards to proceed to the East Indies, join Tippoo Saib, and attack Bengal.

Hostile message of the king to parliament.

On Monday, the twenty-eighth of January, four days after M. Chauvelin had been ordered to leave this kingdom, his Britannic majesty sent a message to the house of commons, importing, that he had given directions for copies of a correspondence, &c. between the late minister of his most christian majesty and our foreign secretary to be laid before them; also stating the necessity of making a farther augmentation of forces by sea and land; and his reliance on the known affection and zeal of that house, to enable him effectually to maintain the rights and security of his own dominions, support his allies, and oppose those ambitious views of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the interests of Europe, but were particularly so when connected with principles subversive of social order.

On the first of February this message was taken into consideration; when an animated debate arose, the result of which proved that all hopes of amicable accommodation between England and France were at an end: it was opened by Mr. Pitt, who first adverted to that atrocious event in Paris, which he described as outraging every sentiment of religion, justice, and humanity; a transaction, exhibiting the effect of principles pushed to their utmost extent; principles, which set out with dissolving all the bonds of society; and which, presumptuously relying on fanciful theories, rejected, not only the wisdom and experience of former ages, but the sacred instructions of revelation itself. Hence was suggested a useful subject for reflection, to preserve this country from a similar scene of calamity and guilt: he contrasted the happy condition of England, where equal protection was afforded to every individual, with the present insecure and licentious state of France, where jacobinism had given a more fatal blow to liberty than the bold attempts of the most aspiring monarch: he then pointed out the strict neutrality observed by his Britannic majesty in the

domestic affairs of France, and the manner in which its national assembly had received addresses from seditious clubs in England: he adverted to the professions made by the French to renounce all interference with the government of other states, to lay aside views of conquest, and to respect the rights of his majesty and his allies; he entered at large into the offensive line of conduct which they had pursued; and showed how by anticipation they had passed sentence on themselves: under these circumstances, Mr. Pitt, conceiving it scarcely possible that a war could be avoided, thought it his duty to propose an address to the king; which, thanking him for his communication of correspondence, and offering their heart-felt condolence on the atrocious deed lately perpetrated at Paris, should express their sense of the ambitious and aggressive system of French policy; should declare their vigorous opposition to such conduct, as well as to the principles from which it originated; and promise to make provision for a farther augmentation of our national forces by sea and land.

Fox, after acknowleging that Pitt had stated the grounds of complaint against France ably and accurately, still deprecated war as an evil, which, under present circumstances, would be very pernicious to this country; but he admitted that we were bound to supply the Dutch with the contingent of troops stipulated for by treaty; since the preservation of national faith was paramount to every other consideration: although he reprobated in strong terms the execution of Louis XVI., as violating the principles of justice, and totally at variance with that republican magnanimity which his enemies had professed; yet he saw neither propriety nor wisdom in our passing judgment on an act committed in another kingdom, which had no distinct relation to this: if the French chose to annihilate their own institutions, they were not invading the rights of England; and such a cause for going to war was totally unjust: our efforts would spill the blood of our own countrymen, and overwhelm us with additional debt: we might wage war year

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after year with France, as with America; but we should make no progress; and should be obliged in the end to conclude a peace, recognising whatever form of government was found established: he objected to the address as condemning principles, the abuse of which only ought to be blamed; the principles themselves were those, on which all just and equitable government was founded; though he acknowleged that they had been carried too far by the French; but he contended, that external force would only increase the rage of that enthusiasm, which might subside, if left to its own operation. 'If,' he concluded, 'the right honorable gentleman will but save the country from a war of opinion; however inconsistent with his former declarations his measures may be, I will gladly consent to give him a general indemnity for the whole, or even a vote of thanks: let not the fatal notion go abroad, that kings have an interest different from that of their subjects; that between those who have property and those who have none, there is not a common cause, and common feeling.' Similar sentiments were eloquently displayed on the same side of the house by earl Wycomb, and Mr. Whitbread, jun.: the former asked what dangers were to be averted from this country, secured, as it was, by its insular situation, its internal resources, and the attachment of its people to their constitution? As to the security of our allies, we could not be told that Prussia had been attacked by France; of course, therefore, this part of the message must relate to Holland: it would be idle and impolitic, he said, in the Dutch to meditate war; and they did not seem disposed to do so: shall we then urge them to it? If the navigation of the Scheldt was the subject of dispute, it appeared a matter of indifference to this country, except that in one point of view it would be of great advantage to our commerce and manufactures, by opening for them a new channel into the continent: he thought it by no means safe to go to war against principles; if those alluded to were levelling principles, they should be met with contempt; but he by no

means reprobated all the French principles: great stress had been laid on French cruelties, but they were no proper cause of war: besides, in his opinion, these had arisen from the famous expedition of the duke of Brunswick; which might be styled a fraternity of kings, for the purpose of imposing despotism on Europe: another ground taken by ministers was a preservation of the balance of power, or the European system; but he could see no reason why this country should be so ready on all occasions to go to war for the benefit of other nations: this system he looked on as merely a political fiction; a cover for any interference which caprice might dictate. He next adverted to our means for carrying on war; pointing out the certain exhaustion of our resources, and the consequent necessity of augmenting the burdens of the people: the death of the French king, he said, had been most pathetically lamented by ministers, but they never interfered to prevent it; and while they professed peace, they had made use of the most haughty and irritating provocations to war.

Mr. Whitbread enlarged on some of the preceding arguments, and placed others in new points of view: with regard to Holland, he observed, 'that he should conceive it a hard necessity for Great Britain to go to war, for the purpose of maintaining to the Dutch an exclusive navigation of the Scheldt; though he had never said that he was against supporting the faith of treaties, when the *casus fœderis* was clearly defined: but could it be said, that in this instance, a new and unexercised right of nature was contended for? certainly not. Antwerp, indeed, was a monument of the exercise of such a right by her inhabitants; and he was free to say, that it would give him joy to see the commerce of that once florishing city restored; for an exclusive navigation of the Scheldt had been established by force, and consented to by weakness: but a necessary preliminary to these investigations, was some precise requisition by the Dutch for the stipulated assistance of their ally: the chancellor of the exchequer had avowed that no such demand had been

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made; and if the house were to judge of the disposition of the States-General by their own declarations, it would be found that they did not think it worth while to go to war for the maintenance of this right: he alluded to their proclamation of the tenth of January, in which they declared that they were then at peace, and that the strict neutrality which they had observed protected them from aggression; a manifest token that they did not consider the free navigation of the Scheldt a reason for going to war.' The question being put on the motion, the address was carried without a division: indeed, the propriety and necessity of war, on our part, were already acknowleged by the old whigs, who became separated by a broad line of policy from Mr. Fox's party, which thus lost much both of moral and numerical strength.

It has been matter of surprise to many, how this eminent statesman could so perseveringly resist and condemn a measure which was unavoidable; for the war was in spirit and character only a development of the democratic principle which had been generated in France; nor had the French government any power, even if it had possessed any inclination, to control its subjects, or to prevent that communication with the discontented in other states, which was the object of so much alarm to their governments. Mr. Pitt had no more desire than Mr. Fox for war; which might destroy, but was not likely to increase, the honor he had acquired during a state of tranquillity; and how his antagonist could have avoided the storm, if he had been placed in the same situation, it is difficult to conceive. He might, perhaps, have parleyed a little longer with the republic; he might have withheld some of our reasonable demands, overlooked slight affronts, tolerated corresponding societies, and submitted longer to the arts of French emissaries; but as the demands on his patience rose, so his concessions must have had an end: he could not have blinded the discernment of George III.; he could not have resisted the deliberate opinions of his whig coadjutors; he could not, as minister, have withstood the clear views and

reasonings of Mr. Burke; though, as leader of opposition, his pride forbade him to acquiesce in measures which might imply deference to the talents of Pitt; he must therefore have entered into the contest, though he would have entered it later; when the enemy had acquired more territory and more proselytes; when the situation of the allied powers had become more precarious, and our means of defence had been proportionably weakened.

The proceedings of government relative to the augmentation of our army and navy were fully justified by the event; for on the first of February, the national convention, finding their plans ripe for execution, unanimously declared war against the king of Great Britain and the stadtholder of Holland.

Declaration of war by the French.

Many as were those averse to war, on the untenable grounds of democracy and jacobinism, or on the more constitutional principles of Mr. Fox, public opinion, that great political engine with a free people, was on the whole in favor of hostilities; and in accepting the challenge thus thrown out by French republicans, his majesty may be said to have spoken for the British nation: nor is there any example of a country better prepared for a struggle with its bitter foes. During the course of the last century, while the government of France was gradually mouldering away, and the federal combinations of all the continental powers became relaxed, Great Britain had been constantly advancing in a system of improvement: she had indeed suffered a temporary depression while throwing off dependencies, which, having arrived at maturity, would thenceforward have occasioned only embarrassment and confusion; but under the healing hand of her great financial minister, she recovered rapidly from her distress; and attained to a degree of prosperity unexampled in modern annals, just when the existence of such a state of things and such a government was necessary to stem the progress of devastation: the war, therefore, which now commenced, was a struggle of the political and moral machinery of improved society with the brute force of a nation, which, after casting off its

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own government, armed itself against the repose and happiness of surrounding states.

The declaration of war was announced by the king to the two houses in terms of great indignation; and the French were accused by Pitt and other speakers of gross injustice and iniquity, though such charges were retorted by opposition members against our ministers and their abettors. Addresses, breathing a warlike spirit, were now presented to his majesty; and motions by Fox, Grey, and others, for the purpose of ascertaining the precise ground of war, for requesting his majesty to seize an early opportunity of adjusting differences, for taking into consideration the seditious practices alluded to in his speech, and against the erection of barracks, or inland fortresses, in our free country, were all successively rejected or negatived; so decided a preponderance had the advocates for hostile measures now acquired. On the sixth of March, a royal message was presented to parliament, stating that his majesty had engaged a body of his electoral troops in the service of Great Britain to assist his allies, the States-General; and that he had directed an estimate of the charge to be laid before the house of commons.

Financial statement of Mr. Pitt.

On the eleventh, Mr. Pitt brought forward his budget for the current year, estimating the total of expenses at £11,182,213, and that of ways and means at £8,299,696; when he proposed to raise the deficiency, by rendering permanent the temporary taxes imposed on account of the Spanish armament. Some remarks which he made on this occasion show how little he then contemplated that excessive increase of debt and taxation which has since occurred. 'I do not think it useless,' said he, 'to suggest some observations on the contest in which we are engaged: the excess of permanent revenue is now £900,000 above the peace establishment; and if this should even be destroyed by war, the country would then be left in possession of all its ordinary income; but this £900,000 I am desirous to leave as a security against those contingencies to which war is liable.' The sum borrowed

was £4,500,000: the terms were, that for every £72 advanced, the lender should be entitled to £100 stock, bearing interest at three per cent.: he expected to have made better, but had not received two offers for this loan. Among other resources, the sum of £675,000 was to be raised by lottery; but several regulations were laid down to diminish the practice of insurance, a species of gambling on chances, which had been found very injurious to morality among the lower classes.

As it was obviously expedient, after a declaration of war, to prevent all correspondence between British subjects and our antagonists, the attorney-general[8] brought in a bill, called the 'traitorous correspondence bill,' which declared it treasonable to supply the existing government of France with military stores, to purchase lands of inheritance in that country, to invest money in its public funds, or to underwrite insurances on French ships and goods: it also prohibited, under the penalty of a misdemeanor, any person going from this country to France without a license under the privy seal; and also the return of British subjects now resident there, unless they gave security to the government. This bill was vehemently resisted by Mr. Fox's party in both houses, as inconsistent with the treason laws of Edward III., the principles of our constitution, and commercial policy. After many debates, the two clauses which were considered most objectionable, respecting the purchase of property in France, and the return of British subjects, were abandoned: other less important modifications were made, and the bill passed into a law. Seamen were this year voted to the amount of 45,000; and the military force was augmented to 27,000 men, beside colonial troops.

Vigorous preparations for war.

Early in April, le Brun, minister of foreign affairs in France, addressed a letter to lord Grenville, stating that the republic was anxious to terminate all differences with Great Britain, and requesting a passport for a person vested with full powers for that purpose: he named Maret as the proposed plenipotentiary; but

[8] Sir John Scott, afterwards lord Eldon.

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the British government took no notice of his application; and about this time a treaty was concluded with the Sardinian monarch, by which England bound herself to furnish him with a subsidy of £200,000 annually, to be paid three months in advance; and to conclude no peace without comprehending in it a restitution of all territories belonging to that sovereign when he engaged in war: thus began the scheme of subsidizing rotten governments, with one of the most bigotted, and corrupt of them all: soon afterwards began that system of profligate expenditure at home, which set so bad an example to all ranks of people, and contributed so greatly to our national distress: the unusual number and extent of bankruptcies which at this time occurred, through the spirit of commercial speculation, occasioned the appointment of a select committee to investigate the subject; and it was discovered that large issues of paper money, and a scarcity of coin, had induced bankers to suspend their usual discounts; in expectation of which, merchants had formed engagements that were far from exceeding their property, though, in the present pecuniary state of the country, they surpassed their convertible effects: as a remedy for this evil, an issue of exchequer bills was recommended to the amount of £5,000,000, under commissioners, to be nominated for the purpose of lending portions to mercantile persons in temporary distress, who could give proper security: this bill was objected to, not only as ineffectual against failures, which were ascribed to the present ruinous war; but as opening a path to the exercise of improper patronage by government, which could either grant or refuse accommodation according to the political conduct of applicants: it was, however, carried; and its operation soon restored mercantile credit. Another subject of great commercial importance at this time engaged the attention of our legislators: the charter of the East India company being on the eve of expiration, it was very generally supposed that its monopoly would be abolished, and the Indian trade thrown open to the whole energy of British enterprise: on the twenty-third of

April, Mr. Dundas brought the question fully before the house, in consequence of a petition from the company, and presented a masterly view of the prosperous state of India under the present system; laying it down as a sound proposition, that legislators ought not rashly to relinquish a positive good in possession, for a probable good in anticipation: he brought in a bill to renew the charter for twenty years; and at the same time proposed certain regulations tending to promote a free trade, but not interfering with the existing charter. This bill, with another to relieve Roman catholics in Scotland from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by acts which disabled them from holding or transmitting landed property, were passed without a division on either: also a board of agriculture was established, at the suggestion of sir John Sinclair; and £3000 per annum were voted for the encouragement of that science, which had never occupied a share of legislative attention proportional to its vast importance, since Great Britain became so eminent for manufactures and commerce. During this session, the counsel for Warren Hastings completed his defence on the last three articles, viz. the begums, presents, and contracts; after which, he addressed the court, praying that their lordships would order the trial to continue to its final conclusion during the present session; but farther proceedings were adjourned till that which followed.

Mr. Grey's measure of parliamentary reform.

The ministerial members and their new associates became so apprehensive of the influence of French principles at this crisis, that they strenuously opposed the adoption of a scheme of reform in our parliamentary representation. Mr. Grey, who brought it forward, contended that the present time was as favorable as any other to the success of such a plan, since it would tend to conciliate the people and repress disaffection. 'Whatever evils,' said he, 'did or might threaten the nation, there was no preventive so certain, no safeguard so powerful, as an uncorrupted house of commons, emanating fairly and freely from the people: to the want of this we owed the American war, and the

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vast accumulation of national debt: if this had been accomplished last year, it probably would have saved us from our present distresses. No set of Britons, unless bereft of their senses, could, after recent events, propose the French revolution as a model for our imitation: but were such principles even likely to threaten danger, the surest way of preventing it was, to promote the comfort and happiness of the people, to gratify their reasonable wishes, and to grant that reform which was so earnestly desired.' These arguments were enforced in a very able speech by Mr. Whitbread, who enlarged eloquently on the causes of revolution, which he mainly attributed to the feelings of the governed being outraged by the grinding oppression of their governors: Mr. Jenkinson, however, thought that the proposed alterations would occasion a preponderance of democracy in our legislature; and Mr. Powys, appealing to the convulsed state of France, remonstrated against any theoretical attempt at improvement: the premier argued against the proposal, and was severely attacked on the score of inconsistency by Mr. Fox; but the scheme was discountenanced by a majority of almost seven to one; and on the twenty-first of June parliament was prorogued.

Affairs of Ireland.

An important concession made to the Roman catholics of Ireland this session naturally turns our attention to the affairs of that country. The failure of Mr. Pitt's attempt in 1785 to reconcile commercial interests in the two countries, was followed by resolutions among the Irish to abstain from the importation of English manufactures; and efforts made by the populace to enforce them occasioned frequent tumults and alarms: these formed a pretext in the session of 1786, for an act establishing a police in the city of Dublin; and as a heavy tax was laid on its inhabitants for the maintenance of public officers appointed by the crown, the measure gave great offence.

Disturbances of a more serious nature arose this year in the south of Ireland: the persons engaged in them called themselves right-boys, resembling their

predecessors the white-boys in almost every thing but the name: their principal object was to defraud the protestant clergy of their incomes; for which purpose farmers entered into a combination, under the sanction of an oath, neither to compound for tithes, nor to assist any clergyman in drawing them: this insurrection began in Kerry, where the people, assembling in catholic chapels, swore to obey the orders of captain Right, and to fleece the clergy; engaging that a large number should summon different incumbents to draw their tithes on the same day, and to suffer no proctors: they published indeed a tithing-table at a very low rate, according to which they promised to pay; but even to this they would not adhere: the combination soon extended to Cork and other neighboring counties, where the insurgents marched in large bodies, but without arms, administering their oath in the name of captain Right, giving out laws, and punishing recusants according to the practice of the white-boys: in these proceedings, they were secretly encouraged by many gentlemen of landed property, who hoped by such means to exonerate their estates from tithes; but when the insurgents proceeded to limit the rents of land, to increase the price of labor, and oppose the collection of hearth-money, an outcry was raised against their designs; and in the beginning of the following year, an act passed for preventing tumultuous and illegal assemblies. On this occasion, the attorney-general, Fitzgibbon, after accurate inquiries, exculpated the clergy from all charges of extortion; declaring, that, instead of a tenth, their legal demand, few of them received a twentieth of the produce; that the insurrection was not owing to them, but to the landlords; who ground the miserable peasants by enormous rents, charging them six pounds an acre for land, and obliging them to work at five pence per day; so that they were unable, not only to pay their tithes, but to obtain food and raiment for themselves and families: some landlords had gone so far as to excite their tenants to rob the clergy, not only for the purpose of alleviating distress, but of adding the value of

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their tithes to the merciless rack-rent already exacted: it also appeared that the magistrates in general had been shamefully neglectful of their duty. In October this year, died, as already has been related, the amiable duke of Rutland; and his successor, the marquis of Buckingham,[9] who met the Irish parliament in January, 1788, immediately proceeded to investigate abuses in the various offices of the castle: the system of peculation was there found to be enormous: military stores were openly embezzled; arms, condemned as useless, were carried away through one gate of the castle and brought back through another, as if newly purchased; and similar frauds were practised in every other department: hence clerks in subordinate offices, with small nominal salaries, were accustomed to keep up magnificent establishments: but their accounts having been severely scrutinised by the lord-lieutenant, their frauds detected, and restitution demanded, the defaulters were thrown into such a panic, that some fled the kingdom; others by entreaties and promises eluded the blow; and a few had recourse to the dreadful expedient of suicide.

At this point the marquis was obliged to stop in his plan of economical reform; having no authority to extend it to useless places and pensions, which were thought necessary to secure a majority in parliament for the court: such indeed was the corruption of the Irish legislature, that scarcely any object, even in matters of undoubted utility, could be obtained without profuse largesses of the public money: this mercenary character was eminently displayed in the case of the regency question, when the minister fully expected that the Irish would follow the example of the British parliament in imposing restrictions on the regent; and this the viceroy used all his efforts to accomplish: but there were too many placemen and pensioners, whose ambitious views led them to support the party which they expected would rise into power: these joined the patriotic band under Grattan; and when the lord-lieutenant refused to forward the address which they

[9] Late earl Temple.

had carried through both houses, they deputed commissioners to present it, as already has been described.

In the mean time, Mr. Grattan took advantage of this majority in parliament, to propose bills of a popular description; and several such were introduced with success, especially one to prevent revenue-officers from voting at elections; but this patriotic fever was of short duration: with the change in his majesty's health, their sentiments also changed; and most of the seceders, repenting of their rash conduct, returned to their former connexion with the government: the family of Ponsonby, however, with characteristic spirit, refused to support a lord-lieutenant on whom they had voted a censure,[10] and remained in opposition: under such altered circumstances, it will hardly appear strange, that on the twentieth of April, the committal of the bills above mentioned was rejected by that house, of which a large majority had voted for their introduction: the placemen and pensioners, who thus displayed the sincerity of their repentance, were permitted to retain their situations; a few of the more obstinate were dismissed; and some were promoted, who had been found faithful in the day of temptation: among these, was the attorney-general, Fitzgibbon, who was ennobled, and appointed lord chancellor; being the first Irishman entrusted with that high office by the British cabinet: his subsequent conduct fully justified their choice; for he was indefatigable in his court, expediting the decision of causes which had long remained undetermined, and making it a rule never afterwards to suffer any to continue so for a longer time than the forms of law absolutely required.

Government, when this struggle terminated, was not inattentive to the means of resisting the opposition to which it had given rise: though the professed principle of the marquis of Buckingham had been strict economy, every source of influence was now thrown open; places of all kinds were multiplied,

[10] For declining to transmit the address on the regency question.

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salaries augmented, and the register of venality lengthened by additional pensions to the amount of £13,000 per annum.

'The arrangement of parties,' says Dr. Miller,[11] 'which was at this time formed, seems to have been the completion of that operation, which had been begun twenty years before by lord Townshend: the great interest of the Ponsonbies, which he had labored to subdue, renewed, after no long interval, its connexion with the government; and it was only in the agitation of the regency question, that this interest was finally transferred to the opposition, of which it constituted the principal strength, and furnished a distinguished leader.' The other champions in this cause were the acute, sententious Grattan, and the eloquent Curran; the latter of whom represented a lower order of the people; but though possessed of less political knowlege, he was endowed with all the stores of a rich and cultivated imagination.

The party, in order to render their opposition more systematic and strong, formed themselves into a whig club, similar to that in London; and at their meetings arranged plans of parliamentary tactics, assigning to each member his particular post: the declared objects for which this association was specifically pledged, were bills for the limitation of places and pensions; for excluding from parliament persons holding pensions not granted for life, as well as certain descriptions of placemen, and obliging the rest to vacate their seats by the acceptance of office; also to disqualify revenue-officers from voting, to repeal the Dublin police bill, and to secure the responsibility of public officers in regard to payments from the treasury; which might, according to existing law, be issued solely on the king's authority.

Disgusted by the strenuous opposition made to his measures, and by the loss of his popularity, the marquis of Buckingham retired in June, 1789, and left his office in commission: the earl of Westmoreland, his successor, did not arrive till the beginning of the next

[11] Hist. vol. iv. p. 494.

year; when the same system of corrupt influence was continued by government, and the same strenuous opposition by the patriotic party in parliament: in particular, Grattan charged the administration with the sale of peerages, and applying the money to the purchase of seats in the commons for their adherents; nor could they venture to disavow so unconstitutional an act, though the necessity of procuring a majority to carry on the business of the country might possibly reconcile it to their consciences. In April parliament was dissolved; the new one met in July; and Foster, the late speaker, having been re-elected, it was prorogued to January, 1791: during this session, its proceedings differed very little from those previous to the dissolution; but the patriotic party rather lost strength by the new elections.

The affairs of the country, however, assumed a new complexion from the French revolution, which took place next year, and which was viewed with strong sensations of joy by the general mass of Irishmen: meetings to celebrate its anniversary were held in different places, particularly in Belfast; where, after a magnificent commemoration in 1792, the volunteers and many of the principal inhabitants assembled in the Linen-hall for a discussion of politics: the chief topics were parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation, two subjects now solemnly connected together, in favor of which they entered into very strong resolutions; voting also an address to the French assembly, and another to the Irish people.

A plan of association under the title of 'United Irishmen,' for the attainment of these ends, had been printed at Belfast, in June, 1791; and in the ensuing November, this new society was established at Dublin, declaring itself 'a union of Irishmen of every religious persuasion, in order to obtain a complete reform of the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.' Whatever may have been the sentiments of the associators generally, some of them appear to have entertained the most democratic notions, and to have conceived a project of overturning

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the government by force of arms: with similar views, an institution rose up in Dublin and Cork, of national guards, who adopted a green uniform, the buttons of which were engraved with a harp, surmounted by a cap of liberty: the twenty-ninth of December, 1792, was appointed for a general muster of this corps in Dublin; all the volunteer companies of the city being invited to attend, and celebrate the triumph of French liberty.

Government, however, whose attention had been early drawn to the inflammatory state of the Irish population; and who, even in 1789, had exercised some severities beyond the due limits of law;[12] determined to suppress, not only this, but every other armed association, unsanctioned by its authority: accordingly, on the day preceding the muster, a proclamation was issued, interdicting all seditious assemblies, and commanding the magistrates, if necessary, to disperse them by military force: this effectually prevented the meeting.

The society of United Irishmen, though now foiled, determined to persevere; and on the fourteenth of next month issued a counter-proclamation, exhorting the volunteers to resume their arms, as before, for the maintenance of public tranquillity against foreign and domestic foes; recommending protestants also to unite cordially with papists, in order to obtain 'universal emancipation and a representative legislature.' In this document the ministry were denominated 'a faction, or gang, which misrepresented the king to his people;' and of the army it was said, 'that they once were citizens; that seduction made them soldiers, but nature made them men:' for this libel, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, secretary of the association, a gentleman of respectable family and fortune, was afterwards prosecuted and convicted.

A secret committee for managing the political concerns of Irish catholics, elected from the various

[12] Fiats, or warrants, were issued by judges against persons charged with libels; and such excessive bail demanded, as subjected them to long confinement in prison. This punishment was particularly inflicted on John Magee, printer of the Dublin Evening Post.

dioceses, had subsisted in Dublin since 1757. In a meeting of this body in February, 1791, a petition to parliament was proposed; but some respectable members, fearing to be suspected of revolutionary principles, refused their consent to such a measure; and sixty-four of them, including lords Kenmare and Fingal, having seceded from the rest, presented an address to the viceroy, strongly expressing the respectful submission of themselves, and the catholic body in general, to government.

In the session of 1792, some new indulgences had been granted to papists;[13] but the majority of the committee, not satisfied with partial concessions, still persevered in seeking a redress of grievances. In order to lay before government the sentiments of the collective body of catholics, they fixed on the plan of a convention of delegates from the several towns and counties, to be elected by persons deputed; two from each parish: the committee also thought it right to make a public disavowal of dangerous tenets respecting the excommunication of princes; the persecution of heretics; the violation of oaths, particularly that of allegiance; the infallibility of the pope, &c.: they also solemnly renounced all claim to forfeited estates, and all designs of subverting the protestant establishment.

Such declarations were necessary to confirm the attachment of their friends, who lay chiefly among the dissenters and united Irishmen: many protestants, however, suspicious of their sincerity, were averse to granting them any share of political power; and passed resolutions, not only hostile to their claims, but condemning their plan of convention as seditious: the convention, nevertheless, met on the third of December, 1792; and, after various displays of eloquence, voted a petition to the king, stating the grievances, patience, and long-tried loyalty of his catholic subjects; but dwelling particularly on their loss of the elective franchise, which they styled their 'prime and heavy grievance, the cause and bitter aggravation of all their

[13] Such an admission to the practice of the law, full liberty of education, and intermarriage with protestants.

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calamities.' Five deputies, appointed to present tl petition, proceeded to London, and were introduc by secretary Dundas to the king, who received th in a very gracious manner; and when the Irish p liament met on the tenth of January, 1793, he pres on its attention such measures as might be likely strengthen and cement a general union of sentim among all classes and descriptions of his catholic s jects, in support of the established constitution: w this view, the bill of relief was brought into the ho of commons by secretary Hobart, early in March: chief clause enabled the catholics to exercise and en all civil and military offices; all places of trust profit under the crown; and also the elective franch under certain restrictions; preventing a Roman cat lic from sitting or voting in either house of parliam as well as from filling the office of lord lieutenant, l chancellor, or judge in either of the three courts record and admiralty, keeper of the privy seal, se tary of state, lieutenant or *custos rotulorum* of a cou privy counsellor, master in chancery, general on staff, sheriff, or sub-sheriff, &c. This measure pas with few dissentient voices; for many, who were av to its principle, voted in its favor; and though it short of complete emancipation, it was supposed contain all which the executive government could that time grant without too violent an exerti accordingly, it was received with gratitude; and a farther concession to Ireland, a libel bill, similar that of England, was passed; the power of the cr to grant pensions on the Irish establishment limited to the sum of £80,000; and certain desc tions of placemen and pensioners were excluded fr the house of commons: also, his majesty declared acceptance of a limited sum, fixed at £225,000, for expenses of his civil list, in lieu of the heredit revenues of the crown. Opposition having been m fied by this conciliatory conduct, certain measu necessary for the safety of the country in these peril times, were carried without difficulty: alien traitorous correspondence bills, analogous to thos

England, were passed; also one to prevent arms and ammunition from being imported, or kept, without license; and another, 'to prevent the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people or any number of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions and addresses to the king, or either house of parliament, for the alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alleged grievances in church or state.'

In the present session a bill passed for raising by ballot a militia of 16,000 men, for the period of four years. As each person on whom the lot fell was obliged to serve, unless he could procure a substitute, or pay a large fine, the measure was considered as a very heavy grievance: to alleviate this burden, subscriptions for raising recruits were adopted, and insurance-offices established, to indemnify individuals on the payment of a stated sum: it was not, however, without considerable trouble that men could be raised; for the common people had not a perfect reliance on the government, on account of a circumstance which occurred in the American war; when a regiment, which had been raised under an express agreement that it was not to be sent out of the kingdom, was, in defiance of such contract, sent to the colonies: hence it was apprehended that the militia would be treated in the same manner; so that discontents were occasioned, and riots produced, which cost the lives of many persons. A set of insurgents, called 'defenders,' unconnected with this business, had risen of late years to such a pitch, as to attract the notice of parliament; and a secret committee of the lords in this session made a report of their proceedings, as well as those of the united Irishmen: these defenders had succeeded the white-boys; but were not, like them, confined to a particular quarter; they arose about the year 1784, from a quarrel between some catholics and protestants, in the county of Armagh; the former of whom, being possessed of arms, overcame their opponents: enraged at this defeat, the protestants of the lower classes began to take arms from the catholics, and styled

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themselves 'peep-of-day boys,' from their breaking into the houses of their antagonists in search of arms at a very early hour in the morning: the others, on the contrary, strove to prevent them, and called themselves defenders; but in the year 1789 they seem to have been regularly organised, prepared for assault as well as defence; and, becoming private aggressors, committed some atrocious murders. At the time when the committee made its report, they had extended their associations through the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and other neighboring districts: assembling by night to learn the use of arms, they went through their evolutions under noted leaders of infamous character, and committed every species of crime; breaking open houses, seizing arms, money, or effects, and murdering the loyal inhabitants; especially the established clergy: at length, they spread to remote counties, such as Kerry, Wexford, and Limerick; so that, in many parts of the country, gentlemen were obliged to quit their houses, or turn them into a species of fortification, and place soldiers there for defence. The sixteenth of August terminated this eventful session, in which the bill so anxiously desired by the Roman catholics was passed, but which failed to produce the effects anticipated: in fact the principle of contention still remained in full force: before the relaxation of *penal laws* at the commencement of this reign, the Romanists in Ireland could scarcely be considered as forming a part of its people; and before the present year, which saw them vested with the *elective franchise*, they did not form a part of its citizens: henceforth the question between them and the protestants was, whether they should form a part of its government.

Treaties between Great Britain and foreign powers.

A convention had been signed on the twenty-fifth of March, between our court and that of St. Petersburg, for the prosecution of hostilities against the French, until they should relinquish all their conquests; while Hesse Cassel and Sardinia were engaged by subsidies, the former to supply 8000 men,[14] and

[14] Subsequently extended to 12,000.

the latter to keep up an army of 50,000 for its own defence, and for general service: soon afterwards, an alliance was adjusted with Spain and Naples; and still later in the year with Prussia, Austria, Portugal, and Tuscany. Thus were the various states of Europe brought into combination against revolutionary France; England being the central point of union: no other power could supply the pecuniary resources that were required; she therefore obtained the chief direction of this war, though not intirely suited for it by geographical position or common interests; causes, however, existed, which rendered this coalition, as well as others which succeeded it, liable to dissolution: most of the allied powers lost sight of the original object of confederacy in their views of aggrandisement; the prospect of acquisitions at the expense of a neighbor, or even of an ally, became an inducement to defection: neither did any great leader arise on the side of the confederates, like William III. or Marlborough, at once a statesman and a soldier: but talent was assailed by envy; and energy was repressed by the bigoted obstinacy and corruption of ancient courts;—while among the revolutionary ranks, intrepidity, intelligence, and ardor were sure to meet with reward, and valiant men of the lowest grade rose rapidly to the highest honors: such were the circumstances under which this war began, which was in reality a conflict of political elements more than of arms; for, as far as the armies of the republic penetrated, express decrees announced the introduction of the sovereignty of the people. The danger, however, seemed to be diminished in the first campaign, as it was not long before the successes of the allies confined the French troops once more to their own territory: rarely, however, has victory proved more fatal to the conquerors; for together with the reaction of vengeance wherever royalists obtained the power, it called forth the resistance of despair; and the reign of terror, which soon followed, with all its cruelties and all its vigor, sanctioned a maxim far more important than a series of victories,—'that every citizen is a soldier.' This at once anni-

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hilated the system of standing armies in France, and gave a new aspect to military affairs: what, indeed, but the energy thus infused into the mass, could have enabled the republic to withstand the enemies by which she was opposed?

Prospects of the French republic.

In the beginning of this campaign, France had to combat 55,000 Austro-Sardinians from the Alps; 50,000 Spaniards from the Pyrenees; 66,000 Austrians or imperialists reinforced by 38,000 Anglo-Batavians on the Lower Rhine and in Belgium; 33,000 Austrians between the Meuse and the Moselle; 112,000 Russians, Austrians, Prussians, and imperialists of the Middle and Upper Rhine. To make head against these formidable enemies, the convention ordered a levy of 300,000 troops, and at the same time established a committee of public safety,[15] with dictatorial power over persons and property, for the support of that revolution which their troops were sent to defend on the frontiers. In the mean time, Dumouriez was occupied with an ambitious plan of reaction, when he ought to have considered nothing but the dangers with which France was surrounded: instead of remaining neutral between the factions, as was the duty of a general, he proposed, in spite of the convention and of assembled Europe, to establish the constitutional monarchy of 1791, after having first delivered Belgium from the rule of the jacobins, secured Holland by aid of the Batavian republicans, and brought those two countries into the union of a single state.

Proceedings of Dumouriez.

Instead of defending that line which was menaced from Mayence to the Roer, Dumouriez threw his forces to the left of the enemy's operations, and entered Holland at the head of 20,000 men: advancing vigorously, he took Breda and Gertruydenburg, and then prepared to attack Dort; but in the mean time, the army on the right experienced great disasters; and the Austrians, under the prince of Saxe Coburg, assuming the offensive, passed the Roer, and gained a complete victory at Aix la Chapelle: the discomfited

[15] Consisting of Robespierre, Carnot, St. Just, Barrere, and seven others.

French then made a precipitate retreat to Liege, and their consternation extended to the camp of general Miranda, who was blockading Maestricht, the siege of which he raised, and took refuge in Brabant; while the victorious Austrians crossed the Meuse, and intirely routed the republican armies which had united between Tirlemont and Louvain: Dumouriez, having received orders from the executive council to quit Holland with all speed, and take the command in Belgium, was now obliged to give up his wildly cherished scheme of ambition.

After concentrating his forces to oppose the prince of Saxe Coburg, and addressing a threatening letter to the convention respecting the jacobins who had denounced him, he hazarded a general engagement at Nerwinde, and lost the battle: Belgium was then evacuated; and the French general, beaten by the Austrians, and attacked by the jacobins, recurred to a culpable plan of defection, in order to realise his favorite projects: he held conferences with colonel Mack, and arranged that the Austrians should march on Paris, for the restoration of the monarchy; while he quitted them on the frontier, leaving several strong places in their hands as a guarantee. The jacobins, informed of his intentions, and wishing to make themselves more certain of the facts, sent a deputation of three members, who obtained from him a plain acknowlegement of his design to restore a constitutional monarchy by means of the army: he soon, however, found himself in a very difficult position; for the soldiers, though attached to their general, were still more devoted to their country: his first attempt therefore was very discouraging to his hopes: for, after establishing a camp at St. Amand, he failed in seizing on Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes, the strong places which he was desirous of giving up as pledges to Austria.

His defection to the Austrians.

As soon as the convention was certified of Dumouriez's projects, they summoned him to their bar; and on his refusal to obey, they despatched four representatives, with the minister at war, to bring him before

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them, or to arrest him in the midst of his army: the general received this commission at the head of his staff, but refused to quit his troops; though he promised, that in calmer times, he would demand an investigation of his conduct, and give an explanation both of his actions and his designs. The commissioners entreated him to submit, alleging the example of the ancient Roman generals: to this Dumouriez replied; —'We are always wrong, and we degrade the history of the Romans, when we quote the example of their virtues as an excuse for our crimes: the Romans did not murder Tarquin: the Romans had a well-regulated republic and good laws; they had neither a club of jacobins, nor a revolutionary tribunal: we live in times of anarchy: a band of tigers desire my head, and I do not wish to give it them.'—'Citizen general,' said Camus, one of the commissioners, 'will you obey the decree of the national convention, and accompany us to Paris?'—'Not now.'—'Well, then, I pronounce you suspended from your functions: you are no longer general; and I order you to be taken into custody:'—'this is too much,' said Dumouriez; and he instantly commanded his German hussars to seize the commissioners, whom he transmitted to the Austrians, to be kept as hostages. After this act of revolt, it was necessary to attempt something: he, therefore, renewed his attack on Condé; but was again unsuccessful: he tried to induce the soldiers to follow him in his defection; but their attachment to the principles of the revolution kept them firm in their duty;[16] and Dumouriez, in opposing the convention, was treated like la Fayette, when he declared his opposition to the constituent assembly: passing over to the Austrian camp, with the duc de Chartres,[17] colonel Thouvenot, and two squadrons of Berchiny, he left the rest of his army to join the camp at Famars, under Dampierre, who was now invested with the chief command.

No sooner were these proceedings known at Paris,

[16] 'We thank you for having reduced us to the necessity of conquering,' was the answer of one of the armies to the convention, in reply to its announcement of the death of the king.

[17] The present king of the French.

than the convention declared its sittings permanent, denounced Dumouriez as a traitor, fixed a price on his head, banished all the Bourbons, and established that celebrated committee of public safety, which was destined to complete the crimes, and destroy the chief authors of the revolution: a short time previously, the dreadful revolutionary tribunal had been instituted, together with numerous commissions, for executing despotic power in the different departments of France.

Fall of the Girondists.

The defection of Dumouriez gave an immense advantage to the violent revolutionists. Though the Girondists had inveighed against the traitor as fiercely as the Mountainists, yet the latter accused them as accomplices in his desertion: Robespierre attacked by name, Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Petion, and Gensonne, in the convention; while the ferocious Marat denounced them in the popular assemblies: for this he was accused before the revolutionary tribunal; but was acquitted, and carried triumphantly to the assembly, when the mob insisted on marching in triumph even through the hall. The commission of twelve, to which the plots of their enemies gave rise, seemed to promise an advantage to the Girondists; but it served only to excite their adversaries more violently: fierce tumults took place in the assembly, and frightful commotions in the city, where clubs of jacobins and cordeliers, as well as the revolutionary sections, sat day and night. On the twenty-fifth of May, a furious multitude assembled at the hall of the convention; and a deputation appeared at the bar, loudly demanding a suppression of the commission of twelve, and liberation of the infamous Hebert, who had been imprisoned as leader of a plot to destroy the Girondists: these proposals were strenuously resisted; and the ferocious Danton thundered out,—'So much impudence is beyond endurance: we will oppose you; let there be no longer any truce between the Mountain, and the base men who wished to save the tyrant.' After this, the Girondists could not long sustain a conflict with the jacobins, backed as they were by the sanguinary multitude: accordingly the

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second of June saw them delivered into the power of their enemies, who had surrounded the hall of assembly with 80,000 men, under the command of Henriot; thirty of the principal members being arrested at the instigation of Marat, and by the denunciation of Couthon: thus the political career of the Girondists, more culpable for their rashness than for their intentions, ended in that storm which their eloquence had created; but which their wisdom could not allay: henceforward they were known only, as individuals, by their noble and courageous bearing in the midst of calamity and death.

On the fall of this party, the revolutionary government was formed: the tyrant Robespierre, who directed all acts in the committee of public safety, now became dictator; while his associates[18] divided the departments among themselves; and the general superintendence of police was vested in a committee of general safety, subordinate to the former, but still possessed of formidable authority. One of the first results of this new order of things, was a change in the divisions of the year, as well as in the names of the months, and of the days; and this republican calendar soon led to the abolition of public worship: in the mean time, Marat fell by the poniard of the enthusiastic Charlotte Corday, who vainly fancied that she could destroy the party by taking off its principal leader; Lyons, Marseilles, and Bourdeaux took up arms; and more than sixty departments joined the insurrection in favor of the Girondists. In most of these places, however, the royalists, who at first presented themselves under the guise of republicans, ended by creating a party in their own character; and the excitement no longer operated in favor of the Girondists, but of the counter-revolutionists: their example was followed at Nismes, Montauban, and Toulon; which latter city surrendered itself, with all its ships and arsenals, to the combined British and Spanish squadrons: in the Calvados, the insurrection

Assassination of Marat.

[18] These were St. Just, Couthon, Billaud, Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Carnot, Cambon, and Barrere.

became distinguished by the same spirit of royalism, which had been for some time flaming forth in La Vendée, and which had conducted the inhabitants of that celebrated district to several important victories.

Campaign in Flanders.

Every thing at this time seemed to conspire to overthrow the republican government: its armies were beaten in the north, and at the Pyrenees: at the same moment, it was threatened by the Lyonese in the centre, the Marseillese in the south, the Girondists in one part of the west, and the Vendeans in another; that reaction among the forces, which had taken place subsequently to the brilliant campaign of the Argonne and the Netherlands, had, in consequence of disagreement between the army and the government, become more decided; especially since the defection of the general-in-chief: after the junction of the army which Dumouriez had deserted, with that under Dampierre at Famars, a variety of partial, though severe engagements took place, in which no decisive advantage was gained on either side; on the eighth of May, however, Dampierre advanced to dislodge a large body of troops posted near the wood of Vicoigne; but exposing himself to the enemy's fire, his thigh was carried off by a cannon ball, and he died on the following day. In this action the English troops were first engaged, and behaved with great intrepidity; but through the inexperience of the duke of York, who was sent out to command armies in these perilous times, because he was a king's son, and had seen a few reviews in Hyde Park, they were ordered to attack a strong post in the wood, and suffered much from exposure to the fire of some masked batteries. Condé being invested, and the siege of Valenciennes contemplated, the allies determined to attack the fortified camp of Famars, which covered that important place: at daybreak, therefore, on the twenty-third of May, the British and Hanoverians under the young duke, with the Austrians and imperialists under the prince of Coburg and general Clairfait, assaulted and drove in the advanced posts of the enemy; who, during the night, abandoned their camp, and left Valenciennes open to its besiegers.

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On the first of June, general Custine arrived to take the command of the French army, but was unable to relieve the place: the trenches were opened on the fourteenth; and, about the beginning of July, near 200 pieces of heavy artillery were placed in battery: mines and countermines innumerable were formed during this memorable siege, and various were the subterranean conflicts that occurred beneath the combatants who fought in open air. On the night, however, of the twenty-fifth, the besiegers sprung some mines with success under the glacis and horn-work of the fortress; which favorable opportunity the allied forces instantly seized, to make themselves masters of the covered way: next day, the place surrendered, and the duke of York took possession of it, in the name of the emperor of Germany: nearly at the same time, the garrison of Condé yielded themselves prisoners of war, after enduring the extremity of famine; and Mayence also submitted to the Prussian arms.

On the eighth of August, the French were driven from a strong position, near the Scheldt, called Cæsar's camp; after which, a council of war was held, and it was determined that the British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Hessians should form a distinct army, independent of the Austrians: this plan was strongly opposed by the prince of Saxe Coburg and Clairfait; but the British forces, amounting with allies to 35,000 men, under their juvenile commander, decamped on the eighteenth of August, and moved towards Dunkirk; 45,000 imperialists sat down before Quesnoy, and the remainder of their vast army was broken into detachments for the sake of communication.

To such a division of forces may perhaps be ascribed the subsequent disasters of this campaign: had they held together, and pushed vigorously the enemy's masses, weakened and depressed by defeat, probably every important object of the war might have been gained. In the interior of France, dejected as the nation was by defeats, by the defection of Dumouriez, and by the bloody proscriptions of successive parties, there was a total want of preparation: the levies *en*

masse had not yet been decreed; and the forces which they produced were not organised for three months: the splendid genius of Carnot had not been called forth; nor had the committee of public safety yet acquired its terrible energy; so that every thing promised great results to vigorous and simultaneous operations. 'The impartial historian,' says Mr. Alison, 'must confess with a sigh that British interests interfered with the great objects of the war; and that by compelling her contingent to separate for the siege of Dunkirk, England contributed to postpone for twenty years its glorious termination; and posterity has had ample room to lament this error: a war of twenty years deeply checkered with disaster, the addition of £600,000,000 to the public debt, the sacrifice of millions of brave men, may be distinctly traced to this one unhappy resolution.'[19]

The Austians were successful in their enterprise; and after fifteen days, the garrison of Quesnoy capitulated; but a very different fate awaited the British army. On the eighteenth of August, the duke of York arrived in the vicinity of Menin, where several severe contests took place; and the post of Lincelles, lost by the Dutch, was recovered by a gallant charge of the English guards, led on by general sir John Lake. His royal highness then moved toward Dunkirk, and opened the trenches before that fortress on the twenty-fourth: the works were in a deplorable condition; and the garrison, consisting of only 3000 men, was wholly insufficient to defend the place; but England had not yet learned, or rather had not yet recovered her knowledge of, the military art: immense preparations had been making for the attack of a town which had long been the object of maritime jealousy; and eleven new battalions had been embarked in the Thames for our besieging army; but so tardy were their movements, that not a vessel appeared to protect our land forces from the harassing discharges of the enemy's contemptible gun-boats. Above three weeks were employed in preparations for this siege; a delay, which

[19] History of Europe *during the* French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 156.

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enabled the French to bring up from a distant frontier those forces by which it was ultimately raised.

The republican rulers, following the wise plan of collecting an overwhelming force at the decisive point, brought 35,000 men, by rapid marches, from the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, and placed them, with 15,000 already posted in the vicinity of Dunkirk, under the command of general Houchard. As the investment of the place was not completed, he threw into it 10,000 of his best troops; and then opposed the covering army of Dutch and Austrians, with a force of nearly double its numbers.

Failure of the allies at Dunkirk.

The situation of these allies offered every chance of success to a concentrated attack. Marshal Freytag's corps was not posted at Furnes, so as to protect the rear of the besiegers; but at a considerable distance in front of it, to prevent any communication between the besieged and the interior of France: the Dutch, under the prince of Orange, lay at Menin, a distance of three days' march; and the duke of York's force lay exposed to attack between the separated bodies. The committee of public safety had enjoined Houchard to throw himself boldly between these corps, and fall on them successively; but he contented himself with advancing against the front of Freytag's, with a view of throwing them on the besieging army and raising the siege, instead of interposing his forces, and destroying them both: the object was important, and it succeeded; for Houchard, after several engagements, vigorously assailed his opponent near Hondscoote, and defeated him with a destruction of 1500 men. Meanwhile, the garrison of Dunkirk made a sally; and the duke of York, finding his flank exposed to attack, through the defeat of the covering army, withdrew from his lines by night, on the eighth of September, leaving fifty-two pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition and baggage, in the hands of the conquerors.

This success excited great joy at Paris, and soon changed the face of the war, from the German ocean to the Mediterranean sea; for the convention, relieved *from* immediate danger of invasion, had now time

to mature its plans of conquest, and to organise immense military masses in the interior of the country. Houchard, however, did not improve his success; for, neglecting to concentrate his forces, and attack the British, he followed that system of division, which had been imprudently adopted by his adversaries; and after a series of actions against detached corps, and gaining one victory over the Dutch, he was defeated at Courtray by general Beaulieu, and driven behind the Lys: a panic then communicated itself to all the divisions; and that army, which had so lately raised the siege of Dunkirk, sought shelter promiscuously under the cannon of Lisle; a striking proof of the present unfitness of French levies for grand operations in combined masses; and of the ease with which the allies, if they had been able to emancipate themselves from the old system of tactics, or had been led by a commander of military genius, might have overrun the territories of the republic.

Ill success of general Houchard.

His last disaster proved fatal to Houchard; for being accused by his own officers, he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, condemned, and executed. 'The proceedings of the convention,' says Mr. Alison,[20] 'against this unfortunate general, are chiefly interesting from the evidence they afford of the clear perception which men at the head of affairs had obtained of principles in the military art, to which the subsequent successes of the republican forces were chiefly owing. 'For long,' said Barrere, 'the principle established by the great Frederic has been recognised; that the best way to take advantage of the courage of soldiers, is to accumulate the troops on particular points in large masses: instead of doing this, you have divided them into separate detachments, and the generals entrusted with command have usually had to combat a superior force: the committee of public safety, fully aware of the danger, had sent positive instructions to the generals to fight in large masses: you have disregarded their orders, and consequently reverses have followed.' From these expressions, it

His trial and execution.

[20] vol. ii. p. 162.

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is not difficult to recognise that influence which the master mind of Carnot had already acquired in the direction of military affairs.'

Progress of the war in Flanders.

The allies now sat down before Maubeuge; an important fortress, the possession of which might have laid open the capital to invasion: Landrecy was already blockaded; and the French troops, inferior to their foes, were drawn back and concentrated within their own frontiers: a vigorous effort thus became necessary; and it was made by the committee of public safety; the whole of France was declared in a state of siege; and the authorities were empowered to take all steps requisite for its defence: innumerable battalions of conscripts were enrolled; many fortified towns and intrenched camps afforded means of organising these tumultuary masses; and at the head of all was placed general Jourdan, a young officer as yet untried; but who, like thousands of his subordinates, was glad to take refuge with the army, from the horrors of revolutionary frenzy at home.

The force of the allies still exceeded 120,000 men; but after the besieging corps, and those stationed at a distance, were deducted, not more than half that number could be brought into action: this army, early in October, was concentrated between Maubeuge and Avennes, where it awaited the approach of the enemy, who had received peremptory orders to drive them without delay out of the French territory: the duke of York, hearing of the concentration of the republican masses, was rapidly advancing with 25,000 men; and unless the attack was speedily made, his force would soon be joined to the allied army. Impelled by various motives, Jourdan advanced against the Austrian position, the key of which was the village of Wattignies; and a general action took place on the fifteenth of October, in which the republicans were worsted, with a loss of 1200 men: instructed by this failure, Jourdan changed his method of attack; accumulated his forces in the night; and on the sixteenth, at break of day, assailed Wattignies with three columns, and a concentric fire of artillery: with forces so disposed, he

soon carried the village; while the appearance of his reserve, on the left flank of Saxe Coburg, completed the discouragement of that commander, and induced him to retreat, after losing 6000 of his best troops: the resolution was an unfortunate one; for on other points he was eminently successful; and the duke of York, being within a day's march, would have joined him, had he kept his position: so incompetent were the imperialists to contend with that new system, which the genius of Carnot had introduced into the French armies, and which their immense levies enabled them to execute with reckless audacity. The siege of Maubeuge being thus raised, nothing more of importance was undertaken in Flanders, and both parties went into winter quarters; the prince of Saxe Coburg established himself at Bavay; the republicans formed a large entrenched camp at Guicè, to protect and discipline numerous recruits hastening to their army; while the committee of public safety removed Jourdan from the chief command, and conferred it on Pichegru, a favorite of Robespierre and St. Just, who had all the talent, energy, and enterprise which the times demanded.

Dearly did England now pay for the fatal reduction of her military forces: with an army amounting to little more than 30,000 men, what could she effect against the energies of revolutionised France? and how precious were the opportunities lost by this deficiency of military strength? in the present case the capture of Dunkirk, by permitting the allied armies to advance, might have paralysed all the efforts of the convention, and determined at once the success of the war. Again, in La Vendée, where perils still more imminent than those on the eastern frontier threatened the revolutionary government, and the brave inhabitants of that district were assembled in Britany, waiting the arrival of English troops, in order to improve their victories, and *march on Paris*,—so dilatory were our succors, that the royalists were obliged to disperse, and finally succumb to their inveterate and blood-thirsty enemies.[1]

[1] See Alison, vol. ii. p. 283.

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After the capture of Mayence, the imperialists, reinforced by 40,000 excellent troops, might have opposed 100,000 men to 80,000 of the enemy: but though every thing promised success to vigorous exertions, the allies, paralysed by intestine divisions, remained for two months in complete inactivity; the jealousy of sovereigns concerning the affairs of Poland being equalled by the rivalry of generals for military command.[2] Even when Moreau, with his army of the Moselle, made an attack on the Prussians at Permasins, and was obliged to retreat from the terrible fire of their artillery, with a loss of 4000 men and 22 pieces of cannon, the allied commanders neglected to improve a disaster which might have led to final success: a few days afterwards, the king of Prussia, intent on spoliation, hurried off to Poland, where his aid was required to assist the czarina in her base designs against that unhappy country.

The confederates, having at length agreed on a plan of operations, determined to attack the lines of Weissenburg, constructed in former times to protect the Rhenish frontier, in which the French were now strongly posted: an assault was accordingly made on their left by the Prussians, under the duke of Brunswick; while the Austrians, under prince Waldeck, crossed the Rhine, to turn their right; and Wurmser, with the main body, endeavored to force the centre. The attack on the right, by Lauterburg, had only a momentary success; but Wurmser carried several redoubts, and took possession of Weissenburg; when, the left having been turned and forced back, the whole republican army retired in confusion: such, however, was the inactivity of its opponents, that in this general rout the French lost only 1000 men; and though Alsace was laid open to the victors, no advantages were obtained; but rather a breach was effected between Austria and Prussia, as the designs of the former power on this important province became manifest. Though a powerful party was formed among the nobles to favor the imperial projects,

[2] See Alison, vol. ii. p. 168.

nothing material was undertaken by the armies: Wurmser lost the favorable moment in festivity and rejoicings; while the convention recovered from its alarm, and took energetic measures to restore revolutionary enthusiasm in these shaken districts. Wurmser, in the mean time, advanced to Strasburg, which the constituted authorities would have surrendered to him in the name of Louis XVII.; but he refused to take possession on those terms; and after an unsuccessful attempt against the republicans at Saverne, he was obliged to withdraw, and confine his operations to the blockade of Landau and the siege of fort Vauban; abandoning Strasburg to republican vengeance, which was soon let loose against the miserable royalists.[3] It now plainly appeared that the emperor of Germany, under pretence of placing the Bourbon family on the throne, was chiefly anxious to recover for himself those provinces which France had wrested from his ancestors.

The committee of public safety acted on a plan very different from that of the allies. To raise the blockade of Landau, they quickly despatched 30,000 men from their armies of the Rhine and Moselle, under Pichegru; supported by 35,000 under general Hoche, with orders to penetrate the enemy's lines, between the Austrian and Prussian cantonments. After some partial actions, the republicans attacked the covering army of the duke of Brunswick in great force on the twenty-sixth of December, near the castle of Geisburg: a violent altercation took place between the allied commanders; in consequence of which, being vigorously assailed in their centre, they were driven from their positions, and forced over the Rhine; after having raised the siege of Landau, and evacuated the French territory. Spire, Worms, and Vauban were soon recovered; the French armies, rapidly advancing, appeared before Manheim; and Germany, so recently victorious, began to tremble for the safety of its own frontier.

[3] Seventy persons of its most distinguished families were immediately put to death. It was a sufficient ground for condemnation, that any inhabitant had remained in a village occupied by the allies; and a fourth of the families of the province, decimated by the guillotine, fled to Switzerland.—Alison, vol. ii. p. 171.

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Vigor of the Spaniards.

Strange indeed to say, the most energetic opponents, with whom the republicans had to contend in this campaign, were the Spaniards; by whom two considerable armies were formed, one of 30,000 men, to invade Rousillon, the other of 25,000, to penetrate France on the side of Bayonne: on the fourteenth of April, this latter force opened a brisk fire against the French lines near the western entrance of the Pyrenees, and crossed the Bidassoa; on the first of May, they drove the republicans from one of their intrenched camps, taking fifteen pieces of cannon; and on the sixth of June, after storming another camp, and taking all its guns and ammunition, they forced the troops into the St. Pied de Port: having fortified some posts in the country, they repulsed a vigorous attack on the twenty-ninth of August; and so crippled the enemy, as to prevent him from taking any movement of consequence during the remainder of the campaign. Operations of still greater interest took place on the eastern side; where the Spaniards, under Don Ricardos, gained several important victories, passed Perpignan, and interrupted all commuuication between Roussillon and Languedoc: alarmed at the rapid progress of this foe, the convention took energetic measures to reinforce their armies; and two divisions, about 15,000 strong, were ordered to advance against a corps of 6000 Spaniards, under Don Juan Courten: this attack was combined with so much skill, that the Spaniards, being assailed at once in front, rear, and both flanks, were obliged to retreat with great loss; elated by success, the republicans determined to assault their camp at Truellas, and advanced against it with 20,000 chosen troops in three columns: that which attacked the centre, under Dagobert, carried the intrenchments, and was on the point of gaining a glorious victory; when Courten, coming up with the Spanish reserve, prolonged the conflict, till Don Ricardos, who had defeated the attack on his left, arrived with the cavalry, and decided the fate of the battle: three French battalions laid down their arms; and the remainder retired, in squares, though not

hout a loss of 4000 men and ten pieces of cannon. r this disaster, Dagobert was displaced from the reme command, which was conferred on Davoust; o, being reinforced by 15,000 men, compelled his agonist to act on the defensive, and retire to a ngly intrenched camp near Boulon, from which French were unable to dislodge him. In the inning of December, however, Ricardos, having eived considerable reinforcements, attacked the ublican lines, and routed the whole army, with a of 46 pieces of artillery and 2500 men: this cess he followed up with the capture of Port Vendre, Collioure, which latter place was defended by ity pieces of cannon; while the marquis Amarillas rthrew the right of Davoust's army, which became much discouraged, that many battalions disbanded nselves, the national guards deserted their colors, the general announced to the convention that was left with only 8000 men. Had the Spanish mander but known the state of his opponents, he ht have had the glory of restoring the cause of allies: but, alas! the war had not yet brought any talent on their side; and the history of all great erals, from Alexander, Cæsar, and Hannibal, down Marlborough, Napoleon, and Wellington, shows skill in disposing troops on a field of battle is only of the qualifications for a commander: the arrival einforcements, sent from Toulon early in the next ith, restored the balance between the contending es; and France was rescued from peril in this rter.

Repulse of the Sardinians.

t the conclusion of the campaign last year, the ich remained masters of Nice: an expedition nst Sardinia had failed; and when the season was ciently advanced, the Piedmontese army, more 40,000 strong, was posted among the maritime s: there in the beginning of June it was vigorously cked by 25,000 republicans; who, after some ial successes, were obliged to resume their posi-s, and remain on the defensive till the end of July: then made themselves masters of the Col

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d'Argentière and the Col de Sauteron; so that the utmost terror was excited at Turin, and the Sardinian court was prevented from sending succors to Lyons.

'The insurrection in this latter city,' says an able writer,[4] 'offered to the allies an opportunity of establishing themselves in the south of France, which could hardly have been hoped for. Had 60,000 regular troops, descending from the Alps, taken advantage of that effervescence which prevailed in Toulon, Marseilles, and Lyons, the consequences might have been incalculable: but such were the divisions among the allies, that this golden opportunity, never to recur, was neglected; and the court of Turin contented itself, during that unhoped-for diversion, with merely aiming at the expulsion of the French from the valleys of the Arc and the Isere: this was no difficult matter, as the Piedmontese were masters of the summits of Mont Cenis and Little St. Bernard; while the French in the valleys beneath were severely weakened by detachments sent to the siege of Lyons. In the middle of August, the Sardinian columns descended the ravines of St. Jean de Maurienne and Mouliers, under the command of general Gordon; and after some trifling engagements, drove the republicans from these narrow winding valleys, and compelled them to take refuge under the cannon of Montmelian: but here terminated the success of their feeble invasion. Kellerman, hearing of the advance of the Sardinians, left the siege of Lyons to general Durnuy; and, hastily returning to Chamberry, roused the national guards to resistance: at this moment, when his opponents were preparing to follow up their advantages, he anticipated them by a brisk attack; and after a feeble resistance drove them from the whole ground they had gained, as far as the foot of Mont Cenis. Thus a campaign, from which, if boldly conducted, the liberation of all the south-east of France might have been expected, terminated, after an ephemeral success, in ultimate disgrace.'

[4] Alison, vol. ii. p. 177.

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Violence of the French convention.

To these inefficient operations of the allies the exertions of the French legislature formed a remarkable contrast. The insurrection against the Girondists, and subsequent atrocities, excited great indignation in most of the departments, especially those of the south; which determined to resist that tumultuous tyranny which existed in the capital. Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons openly espoused the cause of the Gironde: and discontent in the latter city went on increasing till the middle of July, when the infamous Chalier and Riard, leaders of the Jacobin club, were tried and executed: from that moment Lyons was declared in a state of insurrection; and most of the Girondist leaders,[5] perceiving that the royalists had gained an ascendency, withdrew from the city.

The convention, as soon as it fell under the power of the jacobins, proceeded to establish the most democratic constitution that ever existed: thenceforward the committee of public safety, now composed of decemvirs under Robespierre, exercised all the powers of government; ruling provinces, generals, and armies with despotic sway by means of its commissioners, and exercising, by the revolutionary tribunal, supreme authority over every life and fortune: this power was exerted to a degree at which humanity shudders, throughout the whole extent of France: a truer picture of the tyranny exercised in the provinces cannot be exhibited, than that which was drawn by one of its commissioners for the information of the convention. 'Every where,' said Laplanche, who had been sent to the department of Cher, 'I have made terror the order of the day; every where I have imposed heavy contributions on the rich and aristocrats: from Orleans I have extracted 50,000 francs; and in two days, at Bourges, I raised 2,000,000: where I could not appear in person, my delegates have amply supplied my place: I have dismissed all the federalists, imprisoned all the

[5] This party could never move without being counteracted by the revolutionists on one side, and the royalists on the other; it was that which contained most talent, but was most unfortunate in its position. Nantes, though decidedly in favor of the Girondists, resisted the Vendean royalists, and prevented their occupation of a city, which might have restored the cause of the constitution.

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suspected, put all the sans-culottes into authority: I have forcibly married all the priests; every where electrified the hearts, and inflamed the courage of the people: I have passed in review numerous battalions of the national guard, to confirm their republican spirit; and guillotined numbers of royalists: in a word, I have completely fulfilled my imperial mandate; and acted every where as a warm partisan of the Mountain, and a faithful representative of the revolution.'

Meanwhile, the prisons of Paris contained all that yet remained of dignity or virtue in the republic; and even the assassination of the monster Marat produced an unfortunate result; for, though it cut off one sanguinary wretch, it had the effect of endearing his memory and policy to the populace: the blow was also considered to have been directed by the Gironde, and afforded a pretext for condemning the imprisoned deputies. Up to this time, speakers of moderation had been listened to in the assembly; but now feelings of increased irritation prevailed: during the trial of Charlotte Corday, a secret protest, signed by seventy-three deputies against the usurpation of the second of June, was discovered: they were all immediately arrested and thrown into prison; from which time, the convention scarcely contained an element of resistance to the tyranny of the decemvirs: a decree of the assembly had vested the whole power of government in their hands, and they made no secret of its despotic nature. 'You have nothing now,' said St. Just, 'to dread from the enemies of freedom: all we have to do is to make its friends triumphant; and that must be done at all hazards: in the critical situation of the republic, it is vain to re-establish the constitution; it would offer impunity to every attack on liberty, by wanting force to repress it. You are too far removed from conspiracies to have the means of checking them; the sword of the law must be entrusted to surer hands; it must turn every where, and fall with the rapidity of lightning on all its enemies.' Terrible as was this declaration, men still felt that the insupportable evils

of anarchy could only be arrested by the sanguinary arm of despotism.

The revolutionary tribunal was now set to work with steadiness and despatch: domiciliary visits took place, in search of suspected persons; and the prisons were filled in consequence. General Custine fell one of the first victims of the terrorists, and Marie Antoinette soon followed. The revolution of the thirty-first of May had been felt in its full severity by the prisoners in the Temple, as well as by all the other captives in France: the wretch Hebert insisted that the family of the tyrant should not be treated better than a family of sans-culottes: consequently a decree passed to withdraw from them every luxury and every comfort; nor was it long that the unfortunate queen had the consolation of beholding her son. She herself was transferred from the Temple to a common dungeon of the Conciergerie; and after two months, was brought to trial: having there undergone the most unmanly insults, she was of course condemned; and on the sixteenth of October was conducted to the place of execution in a common cart, with her hands tied behind her, amid the execrations of an infuriated mob: sustained by christian hope, she looked with pity, rather than with indignation, on the wretches by whom she was surrounded; and having ascended the scaffold with a firm step, she submitted to her fate with a fortitude worthy of her race.

Trial and execution of Marie Antoinette.

Decrees of the convention were now issued to suppress all established institutions; even those of charity were not spared; nor was it long before the decemvirs proceeded to destroy their former friends: Bailly, Barnave, Condorcet, and the infamous duke of Orleans now fell: the overthrow of the Gironde extinguished the hopes of the republicans; the massacre of the constitutionalists set at rest the question of a limited monarchy; and according to a prophecy of Vergniaud, the revolution, like Saturn, was successively devouring its own progeny. Two parties still remained, opposed on different principles to the decemvirs: their destruction became necessary, before absolute sway could be

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established: these were the anarchists, and the moderates: at the head of the former were Hebert, Chaumette, Clootz, Ronsin, &c., with the municipality of Paris; the latter were supported by Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeau, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Westermann: the principles of this latter party were, that terror was to be used only for the establishment of freedom, not made an instrument of oppression in the hands of tyrants: but the anarchists carried the extravagance of cruelty, obscenity, and atheism far beyond even the decemvirs. Danton and his friends, especially Desmoulins, made great efforts to detach Robespierre from the sanguinary faction with whom he acted, and at first with an appearance of success: he had taken some steps toward a regular government, when he himself was accused of moderatism among the jacobins, and his popularity became endangered: with all his fanaticism in favor of democracy, he felt the necessity of religious ties to curb the unruly passions of the people; and he saw that the principles of the municipality, if persisted in, would utterly disorganise society: with the sanguinary spirit of the times, he determined to suppress their infidel atrocities by extermination; but at the same time he thought it necessary to make a sacrifice to the revolutionists, in order to avoid the imputation of moderatism: hence he resolved to cut off the party that professed it, and thus to establish the supremacy of the committee of public safety over all factions in the state. An opportunity soon occurred: a furious quarrel arose between the anarchists and the moderates; when Robespierre and the municipality, profiting by the occasion, came to an understanding between themselves, the condition of which was a mutual abandonment of friends: the former gave up Danton and his party to the vengeance of the municipality; the latter surrendered Hebert and his abettors to the decemvirs. The anarchists first fell, as cowardly in their deaths as they had been shameless in their lives: when Danton was arrested with his friends, his memorable words were,—'I now perceive that in revolutions the supreme power rests with the

most abandoned.' At his condemnation, he observed, with a prophetic spirit,—'We are sacrificed to the ambition of a few dastardly brigands; but they will not long enjoy their triumph: I drag Robespierre with me in my fall.' After he fell, it was long before any voice was heard against the reign of terror which ensued: 'silent and unopposed, the tyrants struck redoubled blows from one end of France to the other: the Girondists had sought to avert that fatal rule; the Dantonists to arrest it; and both perished in the attempt: they perished, because they were inferior in wickedness to their opponents; they fell victims to the humanity that lingered in their bosoms.'[6]

In the midst of this civil strife, of which the foregoing is but a brief and imperfect sketch, fear became the principal instrument in filling the ranks of the national armies; for the bayonets of the allies appeared to many less formidable than the guillotine of the convention: hence it was, that the republican government was able to oppose with effect such a variety of foes. It has been already observed how the fall of the Girondists excited a spirit of opposition to that government in the departments and large cities of the kingdom; but no where did this show itself with greater force than at Lyons and Marseilles: at the first intelligence, Kellerman, who commanded the army of the Alps, despatched general Carteaux to prevent a corps of 10,000 Marseillese from forming a junction with the volunteers from Lyons: had that been effected, probably the whole south of France would have thrown off the yoke of the convention; but Carteaux, after overawing Avignon and Pont d'Esprit, encountered and totally defeated the troops from Marseilles: he then entered the city, where terror resumed its sway; the prisons were emptied, the leaders of the Girondists thrown into confinement, and the guillotine installed with bloody pomp.

A large portion of the citizens, flying to Toulon, carried thither frightful accounts of the sufferings of their own city, and descanted largely on the fate which

[6] Alison, vol. ii. p. 107.

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awaited Toulon, if it should fall into the hands of the republicans. That florishing seaport was strongly opposed to the revolution, and contained numbers of marine officers connected with the old government: being threatened by the near approach of the enemy, and destitute of any adequate means of defence, its people saw no alternative but to open their harbor to the English fleet then cruising in the bay, and to proclaim the dauphin as king: this accordingly was done; the British entered the port; and the crews of seven ships of the line, which proved refractory, were permitted to retire, while the others joined the inhabitants: soon afterwards, a Spanish squadron arrived with reinforcements; and the allied troops, 8000 strong, took possession of the forts. A detachment, ordered by Carteaux to march against the insurgents, was repulsed and driven back in confusion; which check proved the necessity of more energetic measures: a large proportion of the army of Italy was recalled from the Alps; a new levy ordered; and the plan of Robespierre immediately acted on,—'that Lyons must be rased to the ground, and then the siege of Toulon commence.'

Siege of Lyons.

During the whole of August and beginning of September, the siege of Lyons made but little progress; yet the inhabitants sent proposals of accommodation, which were answered by the commissioners of the convention with an exhortation to lay down their arms and deliver up the keys of their city: the besieged, however, were too well aware of the fate awaiting them, to consent to such a proposal. Extraordinary efforts were now made by the republicans: 100 pieces of cannon from the arsenals of Grenoble and Besançon were mounted in battery; veteran troops were drawn from the army of Piedmont; and four divisions formed, which pressed the outworks of the city at different points. In a series of contests at the outer works, the Lyonnese exhibited heroic valor; but the besiegers prevailed, and the horrors of war at length fell on this devoted place: the ravages of the bombardment that ensued were terrific: before the end of September,

40,000 men were collected before the walls; and the pangs of famine began to be felt; shortly afterwards the garrison of Valenciennes arrived, and Couthon came up with more than 20,000 rude mountaineers from Auvergne.

Capture of Lyons.

The hopes of the citizens had chiefly rested on a diversion from the side of Savoy, where the Piedmontese troops were slowly assembling for offensive operations; but their expectations were cruelly disappointed in the disgraceful retreat of the Sardinian army, which thus lost an opportunity more favorable for the royalist party in the south of France than was ever again to occur. Though deserted by allies unworthy of the name, the inhabitants bravely sustained a bombardment of unexampled severity; but no efforts could finally avert their fate: the convention, irritated by the slow progress of the siege, deposed Kellerman, and gave the command to general Doppet, with orders to reduce Lyons instantly by fire and sword: the savage Couthon also was invested with despotic power over the other generals; and he determined to storm the city with all his disposable forces. On the twenty-ninth of September, every intrenchment between the assailants and the besieged was in the possession of the former; and the last moment of Lyons seemed at hand: still the foe was driven back by the heroic Precy and his undaunted band, with a loss of 2000 men; but all was in vain; famine prevailed; the city was obliged to capitulate; and on the tenth of October the republicans entered in triumph: but the troops were made to observe strict discipline, and the inhabitants began to indulge a fleeting hope that humanity might touch the hearts of their conquerors. They little knew the bitterness of republican hatred: Lyons was not intended to be spared; it was only reserved for cold-blooded vengeance: a decree came forth to abolish the very name of a city which had dared to war against freedom; a commission of five was appointed to inflict the punishment, at the head of which were Couthon and Collot d'Herbois; the former of whom was to preside over the destruction of the edifices;

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the latter, a fit instrument of revolutionary fury, over that of the inhabitants: ten years before he had been hissed, as a wretched actor, off the stage of Lyons; and he now returned to gratify a revenge which had ever since been rankling in his bosom. Considering the daily execution of his victims by the guillotine as too tardy a display of that republican vengeance, which he declared ought to be as the 'explosion of a mine, the ravages of fire, or the rapidity of lightning,' he prepared a new and simultaneous method of punishment. Sixty captives, of both sexes, were led out, bound together, to the place of execution: there they were arranged in two files, with a deep ditch on each side, intended for their grave; while gendarmes, with uplifted sabres, threatened instant death to any who should stir from their position: at one extremity of the files, two cannons, loaded with grape shot, were placed so as to enfilade the whole; and at a given signal the discharge was made: few were so fortunate as to obtain death at the first fire; the greater part were merely mutilated; broken limbs, torn off by the shot, were scattered about in all directions; and torrents of blood ran into the ditches: a second and third discharge were insufficient to complete the work of destruction; until the gendarmes themselves, unable to withstand the piercing shrieks of the victims, dispatched them with their sabres. At one time, more than 200 prisoners were tied together by a strong cord, which was made fast to trees in a large meadow, where numerous piquets of soldiers were disposed so as to commence a fire upon them; while the fiends, Collot d'Herbois and Fouché,[7] enjoyed the spectacle at a distance by means of their telescopes: another fusillade was executed, under the windows of an hotel on the quay, for the amusement of Fouché, who, with thirty jacobins and twenty courtesans, was engaged at dinner. During the course of five months, 6000 persons perished by the executioner; and more than double that number were driven into exile: the bodies of the slain were launched in such numbers into the Rhone,

[7] Afterwards duke of Otranto.

that its waters were poisoned, and the danger of a contagion at length obliged the monster Collot d'Herbois to commit them to the earth. With regard to the destruction of edifices in this fine city, it was conducted in the following manner: Couthon, attended by a crowd of satellites, traversed the different quarters, and with a silver hammer struck at the door of each devoted mansion, exclaiming, 'Rebellious house, I strike thee in the name of the law;' on which, the agents of destruction instantly surrounded, and levelled it to the ground: the palaces and public buildings thus demolished were among the finest in France; and the loss was estimated at more than £700,000. One of the first steps taken had been to close the churches, slay or banish the priests, and extinguish every vestige of religion: at a fête given by Collot d'Herbois and Fouché, in honor of the infamous Chalier, an ass was made to walk in procession, bearing the most sacred emblems of christian worship to an altar, on which an oath was taken to avenge the death of the republican Chalier by bloody sacrifices: at the same time, a fire was lighted on the altar, to which the crucifix and the gospel were committed; the consecrated bread was trampled under the feet of the mob, and the ass compelled to drink out of the communion cup: after this, the procession traversed the streets with an ambulatory guillotine, singing obscene songs, and exclaiming, *à bas les aristocrats! vive la guillotine!*

Siege of Toulon.

This recital may be sufficient to give the reader some idea of the atrocities committed by French republicans; although even those at Lyons were exceeded in some other parts of France. The troops, which had been engaged in the siege of that unhappy city were immediately removed to Toulon; twelve battalions of the army of Italy were added to their ranks; and more than 40,000 men were soon assembled under its walls. This city presented great difficulties to be overcome, being on the land side backed by a ridge of hills, surmounted with strong fortifications: these posts, however, though formidable to attacking forces, were sure, if taken, to become still more dangerous to

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the besieged, since the greater part of the city and harbor lay within range of their cannon; the hill of Faron and the Hauteur de Grasse were the principal points on which the defence of the place depended. An important pass in front of the works, called the defile of Ollioulles, had been early occupied by an English detachment; but its defence having been imprudently committed to some Spanish troops, Carteaux recovered it in the beginning of September, and the republican videttes were pushed up to the exterior works.

Every exertion was made, during the respite afforded by the siege, to strengthen the fortifications of this city; but the regular force was too small: the English did not exceed 5000 men; and little reliance could be placed on the motley crowd of Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Piedmontese, who composed the remainder of the garrison. The hopes of the inhabitants depended on powerful reinforcements from Austria and England; but their expectations were miserably disappointed: in the mean time, fort Eguillette, at the extremity of the promontory which shuts in the lesser harbor, was strongly fortified; and though little could be said for the union of the commanders within the city, their enterprises in sallies and skirmishes were so far successful, that the French began to be alarmed at the slow progress of the siege; especially as a dearth of provisions was beginning to be felt among them: the commissioners, Barras and Freron, even wrote from Marseilles to the convention, advising that it should be raised, and the army withdrawn beyond the Durance: but while weaker minds were beginning to despair, talents of the first order were at hand to achieve the conquest of Toulon. Napoleon Bonaparte, at this time a captain of artillery, was sent to the scene of action; and having visited the posts of the besieging army, could not conceal his surprise at the proofs of incapacity which he beheld: under his direction, a totally different plan was adopted by the council of war; and the youth, by whom it was projected, received full powers to carry it into effect: he rallied round him

many excellent artillery officers and soldiers; brought against the city more than 200 pieces of cannon; and stationed them so advantageously, as to annoy the British vessels in the roads, even before he had constructed those batteries on which he depended for reducing forts Mulgrave and Malbosquet, by which they were principally defended.

In the mean time, general Doppet, formerly a physician, had succeeded Carteaux, whose incapacity could be no longer concealed; and he, in his turn, being found incapable, was superseded by Dugommier, a veteran who had seen fifty years of service: from that time, the artillery officer, having secured the full confidence of his commander, had no doubt of success; though to secure it he used the utmost vigilance and exertion, exposing his person to every risk in the service. On one of these occasions, it is related, that while he was superintending the construction of a battery, which the British endeavored to interrupt by their fire, he called out for some person who could write, as he wished to dictate an order: a young soldier instantly stepped from the ranks, and taking the paper, rested it on the breastwork, where he calmly executed his task: the letter, however, was scarcely finished, when a shot from the enemy's battery covered it with earth: 'thank you,' said the military secretary; 'we shall not want sand this time.' The gaiety and courage of the remark fixed Bonaparte's attention on the young man, who was the celebrated Junot, afterwards created duke of Abrantes: during this siege also were discovered the talents of his faithful adherent Duroc, by that sagacity which enabled the future conqueror of Europe to remark and attach to himself those persons, whose abilities were most capable of rendering him service.

Notwithstanding the influence which Napoleon had acquired, he still found his measures occasionally thwarted by the commissioners sent from the convention, Freron, Ricors, Salicetti, and the younger Robespierre: but he exerted all his patience; and having gained the good opinion of the two latter, he

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contrived to conduct the works according to his own plan: the presumption, however, of these dignitaries became the means of accelerating his operations. It was his intention to complete his works against fort Mulgrave before he opened a large battery, constructed with great secresy, against Malbosquet; so that he might confound the besieged by a more extended assault: his operations had been shrouded by an olive plantation; but Messrs. Freron and Robespierre, in visiting the military posts, stumbled on this masked battery; and having no notion that four large mortars and eight twenty-four pounders should remain idle, ordered them instantly to open on Malbosquet.

General O'Hara, confounded at finding that important post exposed to so unexpected and formidable a fire, made a sally, with 3000 men, to carry the battery: this was at first successful; but the English, in full confidence of victory, pursuing the discomfited foe too far, were attacked in turn by a strong body of troops which Napoleon had rallied: in the hot skirmish that ensued, he received a bayonet wound in the thigh; but the English were thrown into irretrievable confusion, and forced back; leaving their general a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. It is singular, that, during a long warfare, Bonaparte was never personally engaged with British troops, except in this his first, and in his last battle at Waterloo.

The whole force of the besiegers was now directed against the British redoubt, in the centre of the works on the neck of land called Eguillette, which was considered the key of the defence in that quarter: after a long and incessant fire from five batteries, the republicans advanced to the assault on the seventeenth of December; but were received with such a tremendous discharge of grape and musketry, that the ditch was filled with the dead and dying; while Dugommier, as he saw the troops fly in confusion, exclaimed, 'I am a lost man.' Renewed efforts with fresh forces, however, prevailed: the Spaniards, to whom part of the line was entrusted, gave way; the British detachment was surrounded; and 300 of them fell, gallantly de-

fending their post: to maintain the exterior works was now impracticable; accordingly, all the allied troops were withdrawn during the night from the promontory to the defence of the town: nor were the republicans less successful at the other extremity of the line; where a general attack was made on the extensive range of posts which crowned the mountain of Faron. On the eastern side, indeed, they were repulsed; but on the north, where the hill is nearly 1800 feet in height, steep, rocky, and seemingly inaccessible, they made good their ascent; and when the allies were beginning to congratulate themselves on the defeat of what they deemed the main attack, they saw the heights above them bristling with bayonets, and the tri-colored flag waving on the highest peak of the mountain.

These conquests, projected by the genius of Napoleon, decided the fate of Toulon; for the harbor now became untenable. Sir Samuel Hood alone, in a hurried council of war, strongly urged immediate efforts to regain the lost outworks; but his advice was overruled by the other officers: instant measures were accordingly taken for the evacuation of the place, which the panic of the foreign troops, especially the Neapolitans, would have rendered still more disastrous than it proved, without the admirable courage of the British seamen.

Dreadful indeed were the feelings of the wretched inhabitants, as with anxious eyes they watched the embarkation of our sick and wounded; and when the fatal truth could be no longer concealed, that they were about to be abandoned, despair and anguish wrung every heart: the streets soon exhibited a frightful scene of confusion; in many, the jacobins were already firing on flying bands of women and children; and the quays were filled with a miserable crowd loudly supplicating to be saved from their implacable foes; nor was any time lost in taking as many as possible into the vessels appointed for that purpose: upwards of 14,000 persons accepted this melancholy refuge.

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It had been resolved that the arsenal, and naval stores, with such ships as were not ready for sea, should be destroyed: this, however, was a service of great danger; for the republicans were pressing fast on the retreating forces, and their shot already began to plunge into the harbor. The task was entrusted to the dauntless intrepidity of sir Sydney Smith, who executed it with a degree of order and precision that seemed marvellous under existing circumstances: at midnight he proceeded to the arsenal, where he found a large body of galley-slaves, mostly unfettered, and disposed to dispute his entrance into the dock-yard; but by placing a British sloop so that its guns enfiladed the quay, he was enabled to overawe them: the assistance of the Spaniards had been offered, and accepted, to scuttle and sink two large ships used as powder magazines, and to destroy a part of the disabled fleet. At eight in the evening, a fireship was towed into the harbor; and in a few hours afterwards the flames began to ascend: as the conflagration acquired strength, it assumed the appearance of an immense volcano, amidst which were distinctly seen masts and yards of burning vessels, throwing light on advancing bodies of republican troops, and illuminating the distant mountains with a red and fearful glare: the jacobins now began to rise *en masse* against the flying royalists: horrid cries and yells of vengeance were mingled with screams and supplications from the remaining fugitives; until a shock like that of an earthquake, which was quickly succeeded by a similar explosion, caused for some time an awful and universal silence. This addition to the terrors of the scene was occasioned by the lukewarmness or timidity of the Spaniards, who set fire to the magazines, instead of scuttling them: neither were they successful in destroying the other ships committed to their charge, which fell into the hands of the French very little damaged.[8] In spite of the burning embers falling in

Capture of Toulon.

[8] Three ships of the line only, and three frigates, were brought away by the British; though the total number taken or destroyed was eighteen of the line, nine frigates, and eleven corvettes: seven ships of the line, and eleven frigates were saved to the republicans by the bad conduct of the Spaniards—the most

all directions, the republican soldiers rushed toward the harbor, and beheld the conflagration with an indignation that soon vented itself on the surviving royalists; whose screams, mingling with the roar of cannon, announced that all hope was gone: for twenty-four hours the wretched inhabitants became a prey to the brutality of the troops; and, still worse, to that of the galley-slaves, let loose against this devoted city: but a stop was at length put to these horrors by a ransom of 4,000,000 francs raised among the citizens; of whom, nevertheless, an immense number perished in a few weeks: 200 were for a considerable time beheaded daily; the inhuman *mitrillades* of Lyons were repeated; and 12,000 laborers were hired from the surrounding districts to demolish the public edifices: so terminated this memorable campaign, in which the star of Napoleon rose, as it set, amidst scenes of carnage and horror indescribable. The frank old veteran, Dugommier, strongly recommended the young artillery officer to the notice of the convention; pointedly adding, 'that if neglected, he would assuredly force his own way up.' He was, accordingly, placed on the list for promotion, and confirmed in a provisional appointment of *chef de bataillon* in the army of Italy; but before he joined that army, he exhibited great talent and assiduity, in surveying and fortifying the French coast along the Mediterranean.

The capture of Toulon crushed every hope of resistance against the jacobins in the south of France; whilst all dangers arising from an ill-concerted and ill-directed confederacy had been warded off in other quarters, by the energy of the committee of public safety, by the military genius of Carnot, and by the influx of talent, courage, and numbers from all classes and districts into the ranks of the army. In the beginning of this contest, the allies had the advantage both in numbers and discipline; yet their discipline was no match for that spirit which the revolution had infused into their antagonists; while their adherence to the

untoward people to manage that the whole world contains. They had also sent five ships of the line to Rochefort at the beginning of the siege.

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old system of warfare, and the policy of merely keeping up their contingents, soon exposed them to dispersion or annihilation from that accumulating stream, which the overthrow of all pacific employments sent into the French armies, and which enabled them to realise the new method of concentrating force, and bearing down with destructive effect on the weakened line of their opponents: thus was revolutionised France left free to act and to conquer; in which course she was assisted no less by the internal state of her own country, than by that of Europe in general. If the committee of public safety consolidated the discordant materials of the revolution, and converted the reign of terror into a school of conquest; the different sovereigns of the continent had no moral influence which they could oppose to the republican energy of their irritated foe: the *curse of Poland* lay heavy on the principal crowned heads of Europe; separate and selfish interests disconcerted their coalitions; no healthy system of finance, like that of England, had been established in a single state; and the people generally groaned under feudal burdens, military tyranny, and political abuses of every description: the invaders held out to them deliverance from oppression, with renovation from a state of torpidity and decay: the spark was thrown into a combustible mass of discontent, and the explosion soon cast the greater part of continental Europe into the arms of France.

On the 19th of June, the first encounter between two frigates of the hostile nations, took place in the channel; when La Nymphe, of 36 guns, and 240 men, commanded by captain Edward Pellew, captured the Cleopatra, of 40 guns, and 320 men; one of the finest ships of her class, and commanded by one of the ablest officers in the French service. The Cleopatra had been a year in commission, and her crew well trained by captain Mullon, who had taken a prominent part in the actions with sir Edward Hughes, in the East Indies, and was the inventor of a code of signals then used along the French coast: but La Nymphe had been only a few weeks in commission, and was manned

almost wholly with landsmen, not having more than a dozen able seamen on board: at daybreak the enemy's ship was descried; and as she made no attempt to escape, La Nymphe came up with her about six o'clock in the evening; and as captain Pellew perceived the admirable style in which the Cleopatra was handled, and was conscious of his own disadvantage, from the inexperience of his ship's company, he determined to avail himself of the power which the enemy's gallantry afforded him, to bring on a close action, and let courage decide it: at this time, the ships were so near to each other, that the captains mutually hailed; after which the crew of La Nymphe shouted 'Long live king George!' and gave three hearty cheers: 'Vive la Republique!' was the reply of the Frenchmen; while a sailor ran up the main rigging, and nailed a cap of liberty to the mast-head. Both frigates then commenced a furious cannonade, which they maintained without intermission about three quarters of an hour, running before the wind, under top-gallant sails, and very close to each other: at a little before seven, the mizen-mast of the Cleopatra fell, and soon afterwards her wheel was shot away: thus rendered unmanageable, she came round with her bow to La Nymphe's broadside, her jib-boom pressing against the main-mast. Captain Pellew, seeing her disabled state, instantly gave orders to board; when a division of his men rushed through the main-deck ports of their antagonist, and fought their way along the gangways to the quarter-deck: the republicans, though much superior in numbers, could not resist the impetuosity of this attack; but all fled below, or submitted; and the pendant of the Cleopatra was quickly hauled down. The loss was severe on both sides; and, in proportion to the respective crews, nearly equal; the British frigate having fifty, the French sixty-three killed and wounded: captain Mullon was struck by a cannon ball, which carried away great part of his left hip; yet even at that dreadful moment he felt the importance of destroying the signals which he carried in his pocket; but in his dying agony, took out his com-

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mission by mistake, and expired in the act of devouring it; a trait of heroic patriotism which has seldom been surpassed: these signals, so valuable as long as the enemy was ignorant of our possessing them, were delivered to the admiralty by captain Pellew, who was knighted for this gallant action. Toward the end of the year, the French fitted out a number of frigates, which cruised at the entrance of the channel, chiefly in small squadrons, and inflicted serious injuries on our trade and shipping: but owing to the representations of sir Edward Pellew, an independent squadron of frigates was formed, for the purpose of checking these cruisers, and the command given to sir J. Borlase Warren; the general rendezvous being appointed at Falmouth. Such, it is said,[9] was the origin of our western squadrons, which, from their eminent success and character of dashing enterprise, became the most popular service in the navy; and as a school for officers and seamen, were invaluable: almost all their captains rose to high distinction; and a list of flag-officers may be traced in connexion with them, such as perhaps was never formed by any other service of the same extent.

[9] Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 94.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1794.

State of the navies of France and England—Meeting of the British parliament—State of political parties—Lord Mornington's speech in favor of Mr. Pitt's views—Answered by Sheridan—Vote for the continuance of war—Supplies, &c.—Case of Messrs. Muir and Palmer—Also of the secretary and two delegates of the Scotch convention—Motions by Mr. Adam to revise the Scotch criminal law—English agitators—London corresponding society, and constitutional society—Great increase of the union, &c.—Interference of government—Hardy, Horne Tooke, and others arrested and sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason—Suspension of the habeas corpus act—Introduction of foreign troops into England—Augmentation of militia and fencible forces—Voluntary subscriptions solicited—Motion on the subject in parliament—Bills for volunteer corps and enlistment of French emigrants—Bill for cutting down sinecures and pensions, &c. rejected—Motion on the subject of la Fayette—Subsidy to the king of Prussia—Subsidy to Sardinia—Mr. Canning—Slave trade—Report on the trial of Mr. Hastings—Ministerial appointments—Corsica annexed to the British crown—Lord Macartney's embassy to China—Trials at Lancaster and Edinburgh—Prisoners in the Tower indicted—Reports of conspiracies—Trial of Hardy—Of Horne Tooke—Effects of their acquittal—British conquests in the West Indies—Conquest of Corsica—Military operations on the continent—Meeting of the British parliament—Debates on the address.

State of French and British navies.

WHILE such changes were prepared in France for continental Europe, a very different fate awaited the naval armaments of that country: the very circumstances which augmented her military resources, destroyed those of her navy; since fleets require nautical habits, commercial wealth, and nurseries for seamen: so that, from the very first, the maritime superiority of Great Britain became apparent in all

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points, except that of naval architecture, where our antagonists had, and retained through the whole war, a decided pre-eminence.

France at the beginning of the contest possessed seventy-five ships of the line and seventy frigates; but most of the officers, being royalists, had resigned or emigrated; and their successors were of inferior grades, deficient both in experience and in nautical skill. England had 129 ships of the line, and more than 100 frigates: she was also enabled to put ninety of each class immediately into commission, by drawing hardy tars from the almost inexhaustible stores of her merchant service and fisheries: unable, however, as the French were to face our naval squadrons, they greatly annoyed our trade, by innumerable privateers, which the large capital, thrown out of commerce, encouraged them to prepare.

Meeting of parliament.

The British parliament assembled on the twenty-first of January; and the diversities of political opinion continued to exhibit themselves in three principal parties, though a little varied by the course of events: a few members, with Burke at their head, deemed war against regicides indispensably necessary, until monarchy should be restored: a larger number reckoned warlike measures unwise from the beginning, knowing that their continuance would drive France to desperate exertions and important conquests: to repel her armies, they said, similar armies were to be found; to resist her force, similar force was to be produced: if war must be prosecuted, French means were to be used in order to render it successful: before we could act on equal terms, our constitution must be in substance destroyed; private property thrown into a public stock; all persons, as well as all fortunes, put into a state of requisition; and the British cabinet reduced to a committee of public safety:[1] besides, it was asked, for what purpose was the continuance of war? The professed objects of it had been obtained in the deliverance of Holland, and expulsion of the French from the Netherlands, unless we proposed to restore

[1] See 'Lord Lauderdale's Letters to the Peers of Scotland,' p. 257.

the Bourbon monarchy; which intention ministers did not profess: so that we were now fighting without any design. The more numerous body, led by the premier, maintained that the objects of the war were, and uniformly had been, the same; the security of Great Britain, and general tranquillity: the present dreadful system of France was totally incompatible with these objects; and in its nature could not last; for the people, if properly supported, would revolt against a government so tyrannical, so rapacious, so desolating. 'We are called,' said Mr. Pitt, in his speech on the twenty-first, 'to witness the political and moral phenomenon of a mighty civilised people turned into a horde of artificial banditti, throwing off all the restraints which influence men in social life; displaying a savage valor directed by a sanguinary spirit; forming rapine and destruction into a system; and perverting to detestable purposes all the talents and ingenuity which they derived from their advanced state of civilisation: with the rulers of this nation we cannot make peace; all the successive parties, which have prevailed from the deposition of the king, however adverse to each other, have agreed in hostility to this country.'

Pitt was ably supported by lord Mornington, who represented the French as having views of aggrandisement unlimited, springing from principles subversive of all regular government: he quoted their writings, to show their inveterate hostility against Great Britain; though a surer proof existed in their conduct, uniformly hostile to this and every other nation within their reach. With regard to the probability of success, he thought that the efforts of the republicans arose from causes which could not last long; since the dreadful fire lighted up among them must be consuming fast the fuel by which it was norished: their expenditure was enormous; their finances must speedily be exhausted; and then they would succumb to the just and systematic exertions of the allies; but it was only by warlike efforts that we could secure ourselves from the inroads of revolutionary France: in propor-

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tion as her system of tyranny wasted national property, she must endeavor to repair her finances by foreign plunder: it must be her interest to propagate those doctrines by which she subsists at home, and subvert every constitution which forms a disadvantageous contrast to her own absurdities. This speech of his lordship was answered at great length and with great spirit by Sheridan; and, as it was evident that the whig seceders would soon yield to the persuasion of Burke, and accept office under the present administration, his speech overflowed with indignation at such instances of desertion, when the coincidence of worldly advantage with a change of sentiment would render it difficult to decide on the sincerity or disinterestedness of the converts.[2] Lord Mornington, having contrasted the privations and sacrifices demanded of the French by their minister of finance, with those required of the British nation, Mr. Sheridan, in reply, observed—'The noble lord need not remind us that there is no great danger of our chancellor of the exchequer making any such experiment. I can more easily fancy another sort of speech from our prudent minister: I can more easily conceive him modestly comparing himself with his rival, and saying;—Do I demand of you, wealthy citizens, to lend your hoards to government without interest? on the contrary, when I shall come to propose a loan, there is not a man of you, to whom I shall not hold out at least a job in every part of the subscription, and a usurious profit on every pound you devote to the necessities of your country:—do I demand of you, my fellow placemen and brother pensioners, that you should sacrifice any part of your stipends to the public exigency? On the contrary, am I not daily increasing your emoluments and your numbers, in proportion as the country becomes unable to provide for you?—do I require of you, my latest and most zealous proselytes; of you who have come over to me for the special purpose of supporting the

[2] Charles Fox used to say, 'I could give credit for sincerity to several of the alarmists; but somehow or other they always get places or pensions by their new opinions.'

war; a war, on the success of which you solemnly protest that the salvation of Britain, and of civil society itself, depends;—do I require of you, that you should make a temporary sacrifice, in the cause of human nature, of the greater part of your private incomes? No, gentlemen, I scorn to take advantage of your eager zeal; and to prove that I think the sincerity of your attachment to me needs no such test, I will make your interest co-operate with your principles; I will quarter many of you on the public supply, instead of calling on you to contribute to it; and while their whole thoughts are absorbed in patriotic apprehensions for their country, I will dexterously force on others the favorite objects of their vanity or ambition.' After proceeding at considerable length in a similar strain, he asked,—'What is the language spoken by the actions of those who seem to have no direct object of office or profit? The throne is in danger! we will support the throne; but let us share in the smiles of royalty. The order of nobility is in danger! I will fight for nobility, says the viscount; but my zeal would be much greater if I were made an earl. Rouse all the marquis within me, exclaims the earl; and the peerage never turned forth a more undaunted champion in its cause than I shall prove. Stain my green ribbon blue, cries an illustrious knight, and the fountain of honor will have a fast and faithful servant. What are the people to think of our sincerity? what credit are they to give to our professions? is this system to be persevered in? is there nothing that whispers to the right honorable gentleman, that the crisis is too big, that the times are too gigantic, to be ruled by the little, hackneyed, and every-day means of ordinary corruption?'

A great majority in parliament, convinced that peace could not be preserved with the present rulers of France; and feeling confident, from their ignorance of republican enthusiasm and its creative effects, that the resources of that country must soon be exhausted, voted for the continuance of the war, and for its vigorous prosecution. Fox, Sheridan, lord Lansdowne,

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lord Lauderdale, and others persevered in maintaining its inexpediency, as well as the improbability of our success: they denied that France had been hostile toward us; they foretold her career of conquests, and prophesied disappointment to this nation, like that which it experienced at the end of the American contest: they repeated their arguments, both on direct motions for peace,[3] and on various other questions connected with the war; but they produced no effect on parliamentary majorities. A supply of 85,000 seamen, including 12,115 marines, was voted, on the motion of lord Arden, for the service of the present year, as well as 60,244 land forces: the total number under arms in the British dominions, including fencibles and militia, amounted to 140,000 men, beside 40,000 foreign soldiers in our pay. To meet these extraordinary exertions, a loan of £11,000,000 was voted by parliament: so early in the contest was that dangerous system adopted of laying on posterity the burdens of the present time.

Case of Muir and Palmer.

Next to peace and war, questions relating to internal discontent, projects of innovation, and prosecutions of their abettors, occupied a large share of parliamentary attention. In Scotland, two active agitators of political change, Messrs. Muir and Palmer,[4] had been last year tried as seditious persons, for distributing Paine's 'Rights of Man,' and other works of evil tendency; as well as for composing and promoting addresses, or making harangues against the constituted authorities, and exhorting the people to resist what they called oppression. No objection having been made to the evidence, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty against each; and as in Scotland, the sentence, in cases of sedition, then rested with the judges as far as transportation, the punishment which they thought proper to inflict was for the term of fourteen years. As both gentlemen possessed good moral characters, and were thought to have been led away by enthu-

[3] As on February 17 by the marquis of Lansdowne, and on May 30 by the duke of Bedford, in the upper, and Mr. Fox, in the lower house.

[4] The former an advocate, the latter a dissenting preacher.

siasm rather than malignity, this punishment excited much compassion for their fate: indeed, by some eminent members of the law in Scotland it was thought that there had been an assumption of power not allowed by the statute, regarding that species of sedition for which they were indicted:[5] others, not competent to enter on the question of law, censured the judges for adopting the highest punishment which, on their own hypothesis, they could adopt: many, however, conceived that the castigation was fully merited, and would be useful as an example.

Toward the end of October, an association of persons, entertaining extravagant notions of reform, similar to those of Messrs. Muir and Palmer, met at Edinburgh, and styled themselves the Scotch convention of delegates, for obtaining annual parliaments and universal suffrage: besides, they foolishly adopted many of the forms and names of the French convention; accosting each other by the term *citizen*, dividing themselves into *sections*, appointing committees of organisation, of instruction, of finance, &c., and dating their proceedings from the first year of the British convention, one and indivisible. Having associated together for the ostensible purpose of parliamentary reform, they soon began to aim at an equality of political privileges; which was claimed as an inherent right: they also concerted measures for assembling delegates from other innovating clubs, especially from the London corresponding society, whenever it should be necessary to act, in consequence of any measures of precaution or coercion which the government might adopt; and they were fully prepared to carry their doctrines of resistance into action. Emboldened by increasing numbers, they soon began openly to avow their designs, when ministers thought it was time to interrupt them; and on the fifth and sixth of December, the Edinburgh magistrates seized their papers,

[5] They were tried on an accusation of leasing-making, or stirring up sedition, by spreading false reports between the king and his subjects. It was contended, that the punishment annexed to this crime by the law of Scotland was outlawry, not transportation; that the judges might exile them from Scotland; but that was all.

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and took into custody several of the leading members: three were brought to trial before the high court of justiciary; namely, William Skirving the secretary, and two London delegates, Maurice Margarot and Joseph Gerald; all of whom were found guilty, and sentenced to transportation for fourteen years: but this judgment incurred the same extensive censure as that against Muir and Palmer; the conduct of the judges being blamed, not only by democrats, but by the constitutional opponents of government. The convicted persons were now on board transports at Woolwich, among other offenders destined for Botany-bay; and not a few, even of the party well-affected toward ministers, though they admitted that the judgment was just, still deprecated the severity of their treatment: a stronger ground, however, was taken up in parliament; where it was maintained that the sentence was not legal, and that the criminal jurisprudence of Scotland required a revision, which should render it more definite and precise, and should put it on the same footing with the penal law of England. Motions to this intent were brought forward by Mr. Adam, a barrister of considerable eminence, well acquainted both with the English and Scottish law.

His first proposition, introduced to the house on the fourth of February, was to establish an appeal from the high court of justiciary to the lords; with a clause inserted, subjecting the sentences of 1793 to the projected revisal. The motion was opposed, as being a change in the law existing before and since the union; also as an innovation uncalled for by a majority among the inhabitants of Scotland, satisfied of the excellence of the law as it now stood; it was impolitic therefore and hazardous to change such a system for one that was untried and of doubtful operation, not sought for by the people for whose benefit it was intended: after a great display therefore of legal and political ability by the mover, his supporters, and his opponents,[6] the motion was negatived by 126 votes against 31.

[6] Parliamentary Debates, February 4, 1794.

Defeated in the question of appeal, Mr. Adam next moved for a copy of the record in the trials of Muir and Palmer; and, on the tenth of March, he proposed a revision of their sentence; undertaking to prove that by the law of Scotland the crime imputed to them of leasing-making, was only subject to fine, imprisonment, or banishment, not to transportation; also that the acts attributed to those gentlemen did not amount even to that crime: he supported his legal positions with extensive knowlege, judicial and historical; endeavoring to establish them by statute, analogy, and precedent, as well as by civil and political reasons; showing that the acts, cases, and decisions which he brought forward, were not detached and isolated, but all resulting from the same spirit and principles, established in the best times and by the best authority: he also contended that transportation beyond the seas could not be a part of the Scottish law before the union, for Scotland had no possessions so situated; neither since the union had any act been passed, allowing Scotch courts to transport men in cases of sedition: lastly, he forcibly and eloquently stated the evils, moral and political, which must arise from a perversion of law.

The lord advocate who had acted officially against the persons in question, now vindicated the judgments passed on them, as legal and meritorious: he endeavored to prove, that though banishment and transportation, by the English law, might not be the same thing, yet they were regarded as synonymous by the law of Scotland, and so accepted by lawyers and criminal courts: after an exposition of the law, he vindicated its recent exercise against persons who had been extremely active in sedition, and who merited exemplary punishment. Messrs. Sheridan and Fox on the one hand, and Mr. Pitt on the other, exerted themselves in respectively supporting Mr. Adam and the lord advocate; when, after another eminent display of legal and political strategy, the motion was negatived by a large majority. Notwithstanding these repeated disappointments, Mr. Adam still proceeded,

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with a manly spirit, in the course which he considered right: on the twenty-fifth he introduced a third motion for regulating the justiciary courts of Scotland, or assimilating them to the English criminal courts, in substance, sanctions, rules and forms of administration. Keeping his proposition distinct from the special questions which had lately been raised on this subject, he endeavored to show the general incompetence of the Scotch criminal system to answer the purposes of substantial justice: Mr. secretary Dundas, however, denied the necessity or policy of any change in a system which was agreeable to the people at large; and having instituted a comparison between the Scottish and English penal law, he endeavored to show that in many cases the former was the best. Respecting sedition, when he saw the virulent and systematic attacks daily made on our constitution, he must avow his conviction, that the punishment annexed to this crime by the English law was not sufficiently severe; and that the legislature must adopt a different mode of procedure on the subject. After the lord advocate had spoken, the attorney-general, sir John Scott, defended the criminal justice of Scotland, and the principle of discretionary punishment, as adapted to the general purposes of a penal code, as well as to the character and habits of the people; also as firmly settled by the articles of union: but he delivered no opinion on the competency of the English law to restrain sedition. The incidental observation of Mr. Dundas on this point did not escape the notice of Mr. Fox, who appeared to consider it, not merely as an illustrative remark, but as an indirect intimation of premeditated changes, intended to sound the opinions and feelings of the house; and he cautioned him against presuming to interfere with the liberties of Englishmen: this motion of Mr. Adam experienced a similar fate with the two former; and the house refused to receive a petition from Messrs. Muir and Palmer, requesting a revisal of their sentence. Lord Lauderdale brought the subject before the lords, but his motion was negatived without a division; and lord

chancellor Loughborough proposed and carried a resolution, 'that there was no ground for interfering in the established courts of criminal justice, as administered under the constitution; and by which the rights, liberties, and properties of all ranks of subjects were protected.' Under the more liberal reign however of George IV., this unrestricted power of the Scottish courts was reduced.[7]

Agitation in England.

The punishment of such agitators in Scotland did not put a stop to schemes of dangerous innovation in England; where at this period a set of persons made themselves conspicuous, who wanted nothing but opportunities to follow the example set by French republicans: our jacobins, however, were promptly met with fortitude and wisdom; feeble compliances gave way to vigorous determination; and although some of the early measures taken by Mr. Pitt, to coerce faction, failed through that zealous vigilance with which our constitution guards the liberty of the subject, yet England was allowed time to recover her senses, and be saved. The London corresponding society at this time counted more than 30,000 members in its association, and fully justified its title, by entering into correspondence with every seditious club in the empire: the constitutional society was, according to a jacobinical expression, soon affiliated with it; and their respective secretaries, Mr. Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker, and Mr. Daniel Adams, an under clerk, made known to the world the results of their respective deliberations, signed and sanctioned by their names and authority: associations in the mean time rapidly multiplied; but citizen Hardy's club exercised a species of metropolitan jurisdiction over all. Handbills and pamphlets summoning the people to meet for the attainment of radical reform, were largely circulated; preparatory meetings were held; and to assist their schemes, a notorious declaimer, named John Thelwall, carried on a series of political lectures, for the purpose of commenting on Paine's works, and throwing out scurrilous invectives against all constitutional and

[7] 6 George IV. chap. 47.

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monarchical establishments: by such means the revolutionary organisation of the union was perfected, with a central board in London, a division into provinces and districts, and a list of members in correspondence or direct connexion, approaching to half a million. It was now time for government to interfere; and ministers, having remarked the open proceedings of these societies, and suspecting the machinations of their ringleaders, adopted a policy which is sometimes necessary against apprehended plots; that of employing spies to become members of an association, in order to betray the secrets with which they may be entrusted: in consequence of discoveries obtained through these and other channels, they ordered Hardy and Adams to be arrested, and all their papers seized: Martin also, an attorney, Lovett, a hair-dresser, Thelwall, and three or four others were apprehended. In a few days, warrants were issued against persons of a higher class; Mr. Joyce, a dissenting minister and tutor in lord Stanhope's family, Mr. Kydd, a barrister of rising talents, and the celebrated Horne Tooke, being among the number of persons confined: this latter gentleman owed his arrest to the following characteristic note, transmitted to him from Joyce, which fell into the hands of ministers:—'Dear citizen, this morning, at six o'clock, citizen Hardy was taken away, by an order from the secretary of state's office: they seized every thing on which they could lay their hands. Query—*is it possible to get ready by Thursday?* Yours, J. Joyce.'

Apprehension of Hardy, &c.

Their papers, on examination, proved that the two societies had concerted a project for convoking a national convention; which, taken in conjunction with other proceedings, was construed by ministers to be a conspiracy against the constitution; and this, by inference, was a conspiracy against the king, and consequently an act of high treason. Such was the opinion of the lord chancellor and others; though no less eminent lawyers, with lord Thurlow at their head, denied that the acts, of which the arrested members were accused, would, if proved, amount to that crime:

government, however, adopted lord Loughborough's notion, and sent them to the Tower, till evidence should be prepared for their trials. On the twelfth of March, secret committees, at the instance of ministers, were nominated; and on the sixteenth the first report was read, when Mr. Pitt stated at great length his view of its contents, as well as the history and proceedings of the societies; whose aim and object he declared to be a convention of the people, which was to supersede the representative capacity of that house, and arrogate to itself the whole legislative power: finally, he proposed a bill 'empowering his majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of designs against his crown and government.' Mr. Fox objected strongly to this suspension of the 'habeas corpus act,' as destructive to the best principles of English liberty. 'Was the government,' he exclaimed, 'about to erect tribunals to punish an indignant public, from rage at the hatred excited by ministerial tyranny? Was terror, as in France, to be made the order of the day, and not a voice allowed to plead against it? Was it resolved to demolish the British constitution, one part after another, under pretence of preventing its destruction by French principles? What object had these societies, but to obtain universal suffrage? The word *convention* was held up as a subject of alarm; yet what was a convention but an assembly? If the people did any thing illegal, there was the common law to imprison and to punish them: had France been protected by a habeas corpus act; had its government been constrained by standing laws to respect the rights of the community, improper notions would never have found an entrance into that unhappy country; and by parity of reason, they were only to be dreaded here, if the safeguards of our constitution were removed. If the liberty of meeting to complain of grievances was to be taken away, what would become of that boasted constitution? and if it was to be withdrawn till the discontented were rooted out, or the thirst for power assuaged in government, it would never be restored, and British liberty would finally be destroyed. Mr.

Suspension of habeas corpus.

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Grey spoke in terms of bitter reproach and scorn of what he considered the minister's daring attempt against the liberties of the people, more especially as he had himself set the example of all he now professed to condemn: in arraigning this apparent inconsistency, he asked, 'what was the conduct of the premier in 1782, when his pretended sincerity for parliamentary reform had been defeated in that house, by a motion for the order of the day? he had abandoned it for ever: William Pitt, the reformer of that day, was William Pitt the prosecutor; aye, and the prosecutor, too, of reformers now. He, who thought fit to inflame the passions of the people, and to inspire them with a contempt for the house of commons then, would not at present allow the people to judge of their own rights and interests; but persecuted, with the real bitterness of an apostate, his partners in the question of parliamentary reform: he had been that day examining, as a prisoner, John Horne Tooke, for honestly persevering in his sentiments.'

On the other hand, it was asked by Pitt, 'Whether the dangers now threatening the state were not greater than any which could arise from the proposed suspension, which was to last only six months, and would not affect the rights of any class of society? We were driven to the necessity of imitating, in some degree, French violence, in order to resist the contagion of French principles: was lenity to be admitted, when the very constitution was at stake? If a convention on jacobinical principles were once established, who could foresee where it would end? not to stop the progress of these principles, were no better than granting a license to sedition and anarchy. It was in vain to deny the existence of traitorous designs against the government and constitution; and what mode of combating them could be so reasonable as that proposed; which opposes not the right of the people to meet and petition for the reform or redress of abuses, but only aims at preventing the establishment of a power in the state superior to that of parliament itself? The papers inspected by the committee clearly show that this is

the object of the societies in question, and that they are leagued with all those which have brought desolation on France: they have chosen a central spot to collect demagogues from all quarters; while arms have been procured and liberally distributed: unless, therefore, these proceedings are speedily checked, government must come to an end.' Sheridan deprecated, like Fox, the grant of an arbitrary power of imprisonment as unconstitutional and dangerous; but Burke felt convinced that it would not be abused; whilst it was strongly supported by the attorney-general; and Windham advised that the strongest measures of coercion should be adopted. The house of commons, concurring with the minister, passed the bill by a majority of two hundred and sixty-one to forty-two; and it was adopted by the lords without a division.

Introduction of foreign troops.

With a view to co-operate with the royalists in Britany and its neighboring districts, a body of Hessians was placed in temporary quarters at Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, the circumstance being communicated to parliament, in a message from his majesty, on the twenty-seventh of March. Opposition contended that by this proceeding ministers had violated the bill of rights and act of settlement; but a motion to that intent, made by Mr. Grey, was negatived: the subject was afterwards revived in both houses, by propositions for a bill of indemnity, but with no better success; ministers contending that it would be absurd to seek indemnity for measures which were justifiable and not unconstitutional.

On the twenty-second of February, in consequence of a message from his majesty, concerning the avowed purpose of the enemy to invade this country, a large augmentation of the militia, with an addition to the volunteer fencible corps, was voted; and the expedient of soliciting voluntary subscriptions, by a formal letter from the secretary of state to the lord-lieutenants of counties, was successfully resorted to; though strenuously opposed as illegal, and contrary to the spirit of the British constitution. On the twenty-eighth of

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March, Mr. Sheridan moved, that it was dangerous and unconstitutional for the people of this country to make any loan, &c. to the crown, to be used for any public purpose, without the previous consent of parliament; and though the contrary could not be satisfactorily maintained, yet the motion was negatived by a considerable majority, as was a similar one made by lord Lauderdale in the house of peers. An animated discussion also arose on a bill for the encouragement of those who should voluntarily enrol themselves for a general defence of the country during the war; as also on another, for employing French emigrants in a military capacity. All these propositions were strenuously supported by Burke, as giving evidence to the enemy of a patriotic spirit, while in themselves they were not unconstitutional; but he opposed a bill brought in at this time by Mr. Harrison, as a violent amputation of the emoluments of pensions and sinecures, particularly of efficient offices of administration; observing, 'that the amount of savings would be contemptible in itself, while the principle was absolutely dangerous by directly invading the rights and properties of individuals; for the emoluments of places held under the crown were possessions as sacred as any landed property in the country.'

A motion, made on the seventeenth of March by general Fitzpatrick, for an address, beseeching his majesty to intercede with the king of Prussia for the release of la Fayette, then confined in one of his prisons,[8] and treated with systematic cruelty, drew from Burke many virulent animadversions on one whom he considered as a false pretender to patriotism, and whose mischievous conduct had brought the greatest evils on his country: instead of being termed, he said, an 'illustrious exile,' he ought always to be considered, as he now was, an outcast of society; who, having no talents to guide or influence the storm which he had labored to raise, fled like a dastard from

[8] It appeared, that the king of Prussia, being applied to for the release of la Fayette, had answered, that he was not his prisoner alone, but that of the confederate powers jointly.

the bloodshed and massacre in which he had involved so many thousands of unoffending persons and families. Mr. Pitt also denied that la Fayette's conduct had ever been friendly to the cause of genuine liberty; and affirmed, that by such interference as was requested, we should be setting up ourselves as guardians of the consciences of foreign potentates: the motion was accordingly negatived by a large majority.

Various subsidies were voted to foreign princes, and justified as contributions to the great purposes of the war: the most important was that to the king of Prussia, which was announced, as well as a convention with the States-General, by Mr. secretary Dundas, on the twenty-eighth of April. Pitt stated that Frederic William was to furnish 62,400 troops; for which his Britannic majesty had agreed to pay £50,000 per month, £100,000 per month for forage, £400,000 to put the army in motion, and £100,000 on its return; to the aggregate of which sums the States-General were to contribute £400,000: over the troops thus subsidised the direction and command were still vested in the king of Prussia. Though he was a principal in the war, Mr. Pitt observed, he was unable to carry it on without pecuniary assistance; while his force was to be employed for our advantage, and the conquests to be made in the name of the maritime states: the astonishing exertions of France rendered extraordinary efforts on our part necessary; and the object of the war being so important, it would be preposterous folly to slacken our exertions in order to spare expense.[9]

Opposition reprobated this policy as extreme profusion; contending, first, that from the efforts of Frederic William no benefits could accrue to this country commensurate with their cost; and, secondly, we had no security, that when the money was contributed, he would perform his engagements. The

[9] Last year Mr. Pitt had sent lord Malmsbury on a special mission to the king of Prussia to prevent him from withdrawing from the general alliance and plan of operations—but in the present year his lordship returned, after having according to his usual diplomatic destiny, failed in his object. Here, however, it was no disgrace—no one could have succeeded.

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king of Prussia, it was said, began this war, and involved us in the contest; yet we were now bribing him to carry it on, while his conduct was a mixture of fraud, perfidy, and meanness, almost unparalleled in history: but if this monarch was to be considered merely as a vendor of troops, why were the soldiers paid by us to remain under his command? the direction of mercenaries should certainly belong to those who hired their services. These arguments, however, had no effect: Pitt now began to be as blind to the advantages of economy, as he was to the characters of foreign potentates, and the defects of their governments: his motion to raise a loan of £2,500,000 on exchequer bills, in addition to the supplies of the current year, for the purpose of making good this engagement, after being warmly opposed in every stage, ultimately passed by a large majority.

Next to this subsidiary treaty with Prussia, a convention with the king of Sardinia, by which we engaged to continue the war till Savoy should be restored, incurred the strongest and most direct censure. Great Britain had proposed a subsidy of £200,000 a year, to assist this sovereign in defending his own dominions: but it was asserted, that the benefits we could derive from such exertions were by no means adequate to the expense; also that the integrity of the king of Sardinia's territory was not in the least degree necessary to the security of Great Britain; for which, according to ministers, we had engaged in the contest. Mr. Whitbread declared that no reliance was to be placed on any of these royal dealers in human flesh; and it was his opinion, that if the views of their detestable combination had succeeded in their first campaign against France, the liberties of Europe would have been destroyed; nay, we ourselves should by this time have had a quarrel with them; since, from their principles of despotism, they would, after they had imposed a tyranny on the French, have been disposed to make an attack on our free constitution: after a long inculpatory speech, he moved for an address to his majesty, lamenting that he should have been advised to make

common cause with these powers, and requesting him to extricate himself from such as prevented his concluding a separate peace.

Mr. Jenkinson, on this occasion, entered into a defence of the allied powers respecting the treaty of Pilnitz, which, according to him, had no views of ambition whatever; its only object being to set free the unfortunate king of France: but when that sovereign declared his acceptance of the constitution of 1789, the courts of Vienna and Berlin showed every disposition to retreat from the stipulations made at Pilnitz. Ministers endeavored to prove that the whole system of treaties, subsidiary as well as others, were means necessary to carry on the war; and Pitt observed, that it was fortunate that we found states, whose interest led them to make common cause with us against enemies of the rights of all mankind. The address was negatived by the usual majority; as was a similar motion in the house of lords.

Introduction of Mr. Canning into public life.

The preceding debate was remarkable for introducing Mr. Canning to the notice of the house as a youthful orator of great promise: at this time, party leaders were in the habit of watching our public schools and colleges for young men who displayed marks of genius, in order to enlist them under their banners: no one of the day had more distinguished himself, both at Eton and Oxford, than Canning; while his education in the doctrines of the old whig school, and his relationship to Sheridan, by whom he was introduced to all the great luminaries of that party, tended to point him out as an accession of strength to the opposition: so confident indeed were the whigs of obtaining his support, that when his college friend, Mr. Jenkinson,[10] spoke for the first time on the ministerial side of the house, and was hailed by his friends as the future champion of their principles; Sheridan made a personal allusion to Mr. Canning, the companion and friend of him who had just received their applause; assuring them, that in the cause of free and liberal opinions, he would far eclipse the fame which Mr.

[10] The late lord Liverpool.

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Jenkinson had deservedly acquired. Canning, however, whose ambition was inordinate, soon saw the difficulty of rising under the shade of a proscribed party: he accordingly entered into terms with Mr. Pitt; and his first appearance in parliament was on the ministerial benches.[11] His speech on the present occasion brought him rather inauspiciously into contact with Fox; and moderate men of all parties felt any thing but gratification, when they saw the premier expose his great rival to the flippant attack of an arrogant young man. Mr. Canning took part in several other debates during this session; distinguishing himself more by that propensity to satire and sarcasm, which at this time rendered him so disgusting to his opponents, than by any enlarged capacity of comprehending the general bearings of a question: his speeches are those of an active partisan, determined to annoy those whom he cares not to conciliate, and recommend himself to the party whose cause he had espoused. Pitt saw in him a useful and ready instrument; selected him from among many competitors; and continued to regard him with a distinguished preference.

As all endeavors had failed to procure a termination of the war, or a dissolution of alliances deemed by government conducive to its purposes, opposition now proceeded to inquire how far the objects proposed had been obtained, and what was the probability of ultimate success. Major Maitland, in a speech of consi-

[11] Mr. Moore, in his Life of Sheridan, makes the following remarks on this defection of Canning from his early friends:—'However dangerous it might be to exalt such an example into a precedent; it is questionable whether, in thus resolving to join the ascendent side, Mr. Canning has not conferred a greater benefit on the country than he would ever have been able to effect in the ranks of his original friends. That party, which has now been so long the sole depository of the power of the state, has, in addition to the original narrowness of its principles, contracted all that proud obstinacy in antiquated error, which is the invariable characteristic of such monopolies; and which, however consonant with its vocation, as the chosen instrument of the crown, should have long since invalidated it in the service of a free and enlightened people. Some infusion of the spirit of the times into this body had become necessary even for its preservation; in the same manner as the inhalement of youthful breath has been recommended by some physicians to the infirm and superannuated. This renovating inspiration the genius of Mr. Canning has supplied. His first political lessons were derived from sources too sacred to his young admiration, to be forgotten: he has carried the spirit of these lessons with him into the councils which he joined; and by the vigor of the graft, which already shows itself in the fruits, bids fair to change altogether the nature of toryism.'—vol. ii. p. 244.

derable detail, argument, and eloquence, reviewed the measures and events of last campaign, contending that the acquisitions made by the French greatly exceeded their losses. They had been forced to evacuate Belgium, but they had suppressed the revolt in La Vendée; while the strength of the allies had been declining ever since the siege of Valenciennes: the empress of Russia had made protestations, but taken no active share in hostilities; and the king of Prussia was evidently meditating a secession: the military plans of the allies deserved great censure; for while their armies were united, their efforts had been successful: but the separation of forces he imputed to the British cabinet, which had looked only to its own benefit, by the capture of Dunkirk. If the attempt on that fortress by a detached armament was expedient, the sole hope of success lay in promptitude of execution, and completeness of preparations; but neither of these had been attended to: four weeks elapsed from the taking of Valenciennes before the siege of Dunkirk commenced, and then neither artillery nor gun-boats were ready to cover the operation.[12] He still more severely reprobated the evacuation of Toulon; asking why other troops were not sent to preserve the conquest; or why, when it was found untenable, an evacuation was not at once determined on, and the fleet brought away to save the wretched inhabitants from the fury of those whom they had mortally offended? On such grounds, he moved for a committee, 'to inquire into the causes which led to the failure of our army under the duke of York, and the evacuation of Toulon.' To the above just observations it was replied, that Dunkirk would have been to Great Britain a very important acquisition; that the attempt to gain it appeared practicable, and was therefore wise; that its failure was attributable to the enormous efforts of the French, which could not have been foreseen. The same cause occasioned the evacuation of Toulon; but they who censured us for leaving

[12] A great proportion of the cannon balls sent to this siege were found too large for the calibre of the guns.

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that place, ought to recollect that we had there given a blow to the French navy, from which it would not recover for ages. On a general view of the campaign, it was said that great glory was due to the British councils and arms; which vain-glorious opinion being that of a majority, the motion was lost.

The question of the slave trade was this session agitated by Mr. Wilberforce, who introduced a bill to abolish that part of the traffic which supplied foreign territories with slaves: it passed the commons, but was rejected by the upper house!

Report on the trial of Warren Hastings.

On the fifth of March, Mr. Burke moved for a committee to inspect the journals of the lords, relative to proceedings on the trial of Mr. Hastings, and to report the facts and observations on them to the house: this report, drawn up by himself, and occupying nearly 200 pages, was accordingly made on the seventeenth of April; being reputed by competent judges to be one of the most able and elaborate papers that have come from the pen of that great man. With a vast and recondite knowlege of legal forms, principles, and history, it embraces all the circumstances connected with the celebrated impeachment; turning on a question of great importance;—whether, in a case, for which neither the written nor unwritten law of a nation has provided, the courts may make a provision, by bringing existing laws and principles into conformity with it, or by subtracting it from their operation. Acutely sensible to the vexations which he had experienced, he felt strongly the abuses which crossed his path, and displayed them in the most energetic language; well knowing, that without exposing the errors and abuses of the law, there can be but little hope of its amendment.

The report being published, without authority, in the form of a pamphlet, lord Thurlow seized that opportunity of venting his indignation in the house of lords against a publication, which he characterised as 'disgraceful and indecent, tending to misrepresent and vilify the conduct of judges and magistrates entrusted with the administration of justice and the laws of the

country.' On the following day, Mr. Burke adverted to this attack in a brief but pointed reply; in which, speaking of the report, he says, 'it accuses the judges neither of ignorance nor corruption: whatever it says, it does not say it calumniously; that kind of language belonging to persons, whose eloquence entitles them to a free use of epithets. The report states, that the judges had given their opinions secretly, contrary to the almost uninterrupted tenor of parliamentary usage: it states, that the opinions were given, not on the law, but on the case: it states, that the mode of giving opinions was unprecedented, and contrary to the privileges of the house of commons: it states, that the committee did not know on what rules and principles the judges had decided in those cases, as they neither heard them, nor are they entered on the journals. It is very true, that we were and are extremely dissatisfied with these opinions, and the consequent determination of the lords; and we do not think such a mode of proceeding at all justified by the most numerous and best precedents. The report speaks for itself: whenever an occasion shall be regularly given to maintain every thing of substance in that paper, I shall be ready to meet the proudest name for ability, learning, or rank, which this kingdom contains, on that subject.' No one seemed inclined to take up the gauntlet so thrown down; and on the twentieth of June, Mr. Pitt moved the thanks of the house to the managers, 'for their faithful conduct in discharge of the trust reposed in them:' the motion was carried; and Mr. Burke, in his reply, observed, that 'prejudices against himself, arising from personal friendship or obligations to the accused, were too laudable for him to be discomposed at them: he had thrown out no general reflections on the company's servants; he had merely repeated what Mr. Hastings himself had said of the troops serving in Oude; and the house had marked their opinion of the officers in the very terms he had used: as for other expressions attributed to him, they had been much exaggerated and misrepresented.' This was the last day of his

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appearance in the house of commons, having immediately afterwards accepted the Chiltern hundreds: at the conclusion of the session in July, the junction of the Portland party with the ministerial ranks took place in form, by the duke receiving a blue riband, with the office of third secretary of state; earl Fitzwilliam becoming at first president of the council, and soon afterwards lord lieutenant of Ireland; earl Spencer receiving the privy seal, which he soon laid down to preside over the admiralty; and Mr. Windham being made secretary at war: lord Loughborough had for some time held the great seal. The first determination of the duke of Portland and Mr. Windham, was not to accept office, believing that they could give more efficient support to government by free and uninfluenced votes in parliament; but they were dissuaded from this course by Burke, who assured them that the most splendid talents and the best intentions would be comparatively useless, without the possession of power to give them effect.

The loyal part of the nation was at this time gratified with the annexation of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain; and its political importance was a topic of ministerial exultation. The event of the famous Chinese embassy under lord Macartney did not afford equal matter of triumph: it had been fitted out without any intimation to the court of Pekin, or any reasonable ground of success; and his lordship, having been received with suspicion and jealousy, was ordered to depart as soon as the costly presents had been accepted, and a few trifling ones returned: the delay even of a few days was refused; and as one of the ambassador's suite expressed himself, 'they entered Pekin like paupers; remained in it like prisoners; and quitted it like vagrants.'

Lord Macartney's embassy to China.

As an introduction to the trials of the state prisoners in the Tower, it will be necessary to mention a few others which took place in different parts of the realm. At the spring assizes in Lancaster, Mr. Thomas Walker of Manchester, who had opposed certain measures of the minister, and exerted himself

Trials for conspiracy, treason, &c.

strenuously as an advocate for parliamentary reform, was indicted for conspiring with nine other persons to overturn our constitution by force of arms, and to assist the French in case of invasion. The principal evidence was that of a spy named Dunn, afterwards convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury; and his testimony on this occasion was so contradictory, that the prisoner was honorably acquitted without being put on his defence: it appeared that a certain party in Manchester had encouraged the miscreant to institute prosecutions against such persons as were obnoxious to government; so that through his testimony, Mr. Paul of that place was imprisoned nine weeks on a charge of treason, and Mr. Booth condemned to two years imprisonment for speaking seditious words.

The next trials of importance were those of Robert Watt and David Downie at Edinburgh, in September; when the former was indicted for high treason. A conspiracy to levy war, by seizing on the castle, excise office, and bank of Edinburgh, as well as to arrest the principal magistrates, was clearly proved against him; but it was contended, that as there was no actual levying of war, the fact of conspiring only did not constitute an overt act of high treason under the statute of Edward III. The most curious circumstance, however, in this trial was the defence; which proved, by the testimony of the lord advocate, as well as by letters from Mr. Dundas, that the prisoner had carried on a confidential correspondence with the home secretary himself as a government spy, and had received money for his services: the plea, however, had but little weight with the jury, who within five minutes brought in a verdict of guilty: Downie, against whom the principal charge was, that he had paid a bill for fifteen pikes made to the order of Watt, was also convicted; but being recommended to mercy, he afterwards received the royal pardon.

On the tenth of September, a special commission of oyer and terminer was issued for trying the prisoners charged with high treason, and now in the Tower;

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and on the second of October it was opened at the Clerkenwell Sessions-house, by lord chief justice Eyre, in an elaborate charge to the grand jury, who found a bill of indictment against Hardy, Tooke, Bonney, Kydd, Joyce, Wardell, Holcroft, Richter, Moore, Thelwall, Hodson, and Baxter: Martin, the attorney, was indicted separately. While these proceedings were going on, a new and dreadful alarm was excited by the report of a conspiracy for assassinating the king, by one le Maitre apprentice to a watchmaker, Higgins a chemist, and Smith who kept a book-stall: their accuser was named Upton, who had been expelled from the corresponding society for his infamous character, and had threatened vengeance against its members: he deposed to having been employed in making a brass tube, through which a dart, tinged with subtile poison, was to be blown by le Maitre against his majesty, on Windsor Terrace, or in the theatre: the prisoners were repeatedly examined before the privy council on this charge; but it came to nothing.

Another and more extensive alarm arose from a paper signed by Watt on the evening before his execution, as a last effort to escape the gallows; in which he declared that a formidable conspiracy was prepared, and ready for instant execution; that its first movements were to be made in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; while every other large town was ready to act in concert, on the very first notice, to be sent express by couriers: as he was unable to point out any of the conspirators, this document did not save him; and his fate excited no compassion.

Trials at the Old Bailey.

Under such circumstances, not very favorable to the prisoner, was Thomas Hardy brought to trial on the twenty-eighth of October;[13] charged with ma-

[13] On the 10th of September the special commission was issued for the trials of the political offenders: it was opened on the 2nd of October; and on the 6th a true bill for high treason was returned against twelve men, Hardy, Tooke, Kydd, Bonney, Joyce, Wardell, Holcroft, Richter, Moore, Thelwall, Hodson, and Baxter; that against Lovett being ignored. On the 25th, the prisoners having been arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, the attorney-general announced, that in compliance with the desire of their counsel for separate trials, he would proceed first on that of Hardy; which, at the request of his counsel, was adjourned to Tuesday the 28th. The counsel for the crown, on this occasion, were, with the attorney-general, the solicitor-general sir John Mitford, serjeant Adair, Messrs.

liciously and traitorously conspiring, together with John Horne Tooke, &c. to excite insurrection, rebellion, and war against our sovereign lord the king, to depose him from his regal state, and to bring or put him to death. The counsel who opened the prosecution having stated nine overt acts of this species of high treason, sir John Scott, the attorney-general, made an opening speech of nine hours, entering with no unwilling mind into a minute detail of the indictment; for which the papers that had been seized by a warrant from the secretary of state formed the chief grounds. Three days following were occupied by the production of evidence for the crown, oral and documentary; after which, Mr. Erskine addressed the jury, in behalf of the prisoner, for the space of six hours, in a style of impressive eloquence that has seldom been equalled. In the case of lord George Gordon, this consummate advocate had given the first grand blow to the doctrine of constructive treason; after which time, that perilous question lay at rest, till the season of alarm which arose out of the French revolution seemed a fit opportunity for reviving it; but it still found in Mr. Erskine so irresistible an antagonist, that it utterly failed, though brought forward with every chance in its favor, from the temper of the times, the power of the crown, the madness of the mob, and the talents of its professional and political supporters. The remainder of the day was occupied in the examination of witnesses for the prisoner, who gave him the character of a harmless inoffensive man, whose object was parliamentary reform, not subversion of the constitution: when this evidence was finished, Mr. Gibbs addressed the jury in favor of the accused, and was followed by the solicitor-general in reply; after which lord chief justice Eyre summed up; and the jury, having retired for about two hours, brought in a verdict of 'not guilty.' Perhaps no trial of an obscure individual ever interested the public more

Bearcroft, Bower, Law, Garrow, and Wood. The prisoner was defended by Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, with the assistant counsel, Messrs. Dampier, Felix Vaughan, and Gurney.

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at the time, or longer afterwards, than this; and when notice of his acquittal was given, the air was rent with shouts of acclamation by the surrounding multitude, who with inexpressible anxiety had awaited the issue: they then dragged him triumphantly in a coach to the house of his brother; where, after being requested, as they valued the cause in which they had shown so much zeal, not to disturb the public peace, they quietly dispersed to their own homes.

Hardy was acquitted on the fifth of November; and on the seventeenth, John Horne Tooke was brought to the bar: after some introductory forms similar to those used in the previous trial, and some altercations regarding the admission of evidence, the court was soon converted into a scene of pleasantry, such as rarely had been witnessed in the case of a capital offence. It appeared, from evidence, on the production of the celebrated letter sent by Joyce to Tooke, that the terrific query, with which it concluded, related merely to an extract which was to have been made from the red book, for the newspapers, of the places and emoluments derived from the public by Mr. Pitt and his family: immediately after that document had been intercepted, a strong body of light horse was ordered to Wimbledon, and warrants were issued for the apprehension of Messrs. Tooke and Joyce: on this and other charges the prisoner exercised his wit and raillery with such effect, that the whole bar, and the judges themselves, could not refrain from joining in the laugh. The defence of his client, by Mr. Erskine, was a resistless torrent of eloquence and reasoning; tending to show that treason is not to be made out by construction, cumulation, or analogy; and that an expressed desire to change the constitution, and even to depose the king, cannot be construed into an intent against his natural life: in alluding to the trial of Hardy, and the powerful pressure against which he had to contend, he thus characterised the house of commons;—'under all this, I could have looked up for protection in other circumstances; I could, as defending one of the people in a fearful

extremity, have looked up to the people's representatives;—to that mighty tribunal, higher than all law, and the parent of all protections which the law affords to the subject: I could have looked up to the commons of England, to hold a shield before the subject against the crown: but in this case, I found instead of that shield of the subject a sharp and destroying sword in the hands of the enemy: the protecting house of commons was itself, by corruption and infatuation, an accuser, instead of a defender of the subject: it acted as an Old Bailey solicitor, to prepare briefs for the crown; even in a case which the judges declared to be so new, that they were obliged to try experiments on our legal constitution to find a way of trying it.' In the course of his speech, Mr. Erskine, having occasion to make an allusion to the works of Paine, whose defence this independent and intrepid advocate had previously undertaken under very peculiar circumstances, related an anecdote, which shows in the strongest possible light the dreadful power of party feeling, when it could make George III. stoop to so scandalous a proceeding. 'O shame!' exclaimed the pleader, 'you will say, when you hear what I am about to relate; that there was a conspiracy formed to prevent the author of the 'Rights of Man' from being defended: that was the genuine clew to Mr. Tooke's conduct; there was a conspiracy to prevent Mr. Paine from having even a trial: he was a poor man, and could not defend himself; he was to have no counsel; and I, who speak to you, was threatened with the loss of my office, if I undertook his defence *as an advocate:* I was told that Mr. Paine must not be defended: I did defend him; and I lost my office.'[14] In conclusion, he thus beautifully stated a circumstance highly honorable to his client:—'The part, gentlemen, which the prisoner has acted in this case intitles him to the greatest respect from me; because I was prepared to conduct it in a different manner, by a selection of those portions of the evidence, and by a minute attention to those particular entries, where I could have

[14] He was at that time attorney-general to the prince of Wales.

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separated him from his companions. I could have made a defence which would have kept his vessel out of the storm; I could have brought him safe into the harbor of peace, while those men were left to ride out the tempest: but he would not suffer his defence to be conducted on that plan; and though he has nothing to do with the conspiracy, he holds out a rope to save others: he charges me to say—I will show that the other men had no such guilt belonging to them; and I rejoice in being the advocate to do it.' On the part of the prisoner, many witnesses of high rank, and some connected with the government, were examined: among them were the duke of Richmond, lord Camden, Mr. Beaufoy, Sheridan, and Pitt himself; the latter of whom was obliged to *correct* his evidence, after Mr. Sheridan had established the fact, that he had been present at the meetings of a society held at the duke of Richmond's, for procuring parliamentary reform, where delegates were assembled from different counties: the jury considered this case so clear, that they were not absent more than six minutes before they returned a verdict of 'not guilty;' although Mr. Erskine's doctrine respecting constructive treason was strongly combated by lord chief justice Eyre in his charge.[15] After such an acquittal, the attorney-general declined any farther prosecution of members of the 'constitutional society,' and on the first of December, a jury being impanelled *pro forma*, the other prisoners were acquitted and discharged. Thelwall's trial commenced the same day; and the charge was opened with great ability by Mr. serjeant Adair; but no new evidence was brought forward, except some very intemperate expressions used at public meetings. The prisoner was successfully defended by Messrs. Erskine[16]

[15] His lordship declared that it was not necessary in point of law to prove a compassing of the king's death as a *conception existing* in the prisoner's mind *prior* to the conception of deposing him. A conspiracy to depose the king, he said, is evidence of compassing and imagining his death, conclusive in its nature; so conclusive, that it is become a *presumption of law*, which is in truth nothing more than a necessary and violent presumption of *fact*, admitting of no contradiction. Who can doubt that the natural person of the king is immediately attempted and attacked, by him who attempts to depose him?

[16] Some curious anecdotes were preserved by sir John Scott respecting Erskine in these trials, and are related in his Life, published by the present lord Eldon.

and Gibbs, both of whom adopted the same argument, that to constitute the alleged treason, there must have been some intent against the king's natural life; whereas in the present instance the openly avowed intentions of the prisoner had been, like those of Mr. Burke, the duke of Richmond, and others, to operate on the legislature through the declared sense of the people: all the other prosecutions, were then abandoned by the crown.

Thus ended these celebrated trials; and while we give due credit to Mr. Pitt for his prompt and vigorous, though in this case mistaken measure, to arrest evils, which, if suffered to increase, might have involved his country in revolutionary horrors; we must not deny their meed of praise to those honest advocates and juries, who maintained the integrity of our laws, and prevented the safeguard of our liberties from being turned into an instrument of tyranny, by opposing the doctrine of *constructive treason*. Had the prisoners been indicted for sedition, there can be but little doubt that they would have been convicted; and still less what would have been the result, under any circumstances, if they had been tried *in Scotland*. Their acquittal proved a fortunate event; for after this signal triumph of popular principles, the most factious lost the power of alleging that the liberties of Englishmen were on the decline: satisfied with their victory, the people soon relapsed into ancient habits of loyalty; the spirit of innovation gradually diminished; the passions of men became fixed on different objects; and the prosecution of the war with France grew into an affair of more interest than the remodelling of our own constitution.

British conquests.

In the mean time, the superiority of our navy began to awaken public exultation, and to produce its wonted effects on the colonial possessions of our enemies. Soon

One of them is as follows:—'Erskine was of course extremely popular: he was received with unusual plaudits; and there was nothing to disturb his enjoyment of his contrast, or to soften my mortification, until, one evening (the evening of the verdict) the multitude, which had thought proper to take the horses from his carriage, that they might draw him home, conceived among them such a fancy for a patriot's horses, as not to return them, but to keep them for their own use and benefit.'—vol. i. p. 270.

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after the commencement of hostilities, Tobago had been taken by a British squadron; and early in this year, a fleet, under sir John Jervis and general sir Charles Grey, was despatched against Martinique; which, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered to our arms on the twenty-third of March. At Fort Bourbon, where general Rochambeau commanded, so noble was the defence, that sir Charles Grey, in his despatch, declared, 'there was scarcely an inch of ground untouched by the shot and shells of the besiegers:' very honorable terms were granted to its gallant defender. Not long afterwards, the principal forts in San Domingo were wrested by colonel Whitelock from the republicans; while the wretched planters, a prey to the flames lighted up by friends of emancipation at the beginning of the revolution, were totally ruined. Martinique was no sooner conquered, than our indefatigable commanders turned their arms with similar success against the fine island of St. Lucie; and then proceeded to Guadaloupe, where the British general made a descent at Gosier-bay on the eleventh of April: the landing was covered by lord Garlies in the Winchelsea, who placed his ship so near to the batteries, that the enemy's troops could not stand to their guns, which were soon silenced. At five in the morning of the twelfth, sir Charles took by storm a strong fort called Fleur d'Epée; where the troops were ordered not to fire, but to carry every thing with the bayonet: this success served to put them into immediate possession of Grande Terre; which produced a surrender of Basse Terre, on the twentieth, by capitulation, including the whole island, with Marie Galante, Desirada, and all its other dependencies: the terms were similar to those granted to Rochambeau. After these successes, sir Charles returned to Martinique, leaving general Dundas to command at Guadaloupe.

About the middle of April, sir J. B. Warren, as commander of the western squadron, sailed from Portsmouth in the Flora, with the Arethusa, Concorde, Melampus, and Nymphe: at daylight on the twenty-third, he fell in with a French squadron, off the Isle

le Bass, the Engageante, Pomone, and Résolue frigates, and the Babet twenty-two-gun corvette. Outsailing her consorts, the Flora came up with the enemy at half-past six; and giving the Babet a passing broadside, stood on, and attacked the Pomone, the largest frigate then known, being only 100 tons smaller than a sixty-four gun ship, and carrying long twenty-four-pounders on her main deck. The Flora, carrying only thirty-six, was a very unequal match for this powerful ship, which soon cut her rigging to pieces, and left her far astern: the Melampus then fired on her, but too far windward to produce any effect, though she herself suffered much from the enemy's heavy guns: in the mean time, the Arethusa, sir Edward Pellew, came up, closed with the Pomone to windward, and engaged her single-handed, within pistol-shot: before the close of the action, the enemy's ship took fire, but her crew succeeded in extinguishing the flames; and at half-past nine, the Arethusa shot away her main and mizen masts, and compelled her to surrender: the other frigates in our squadron then gave chase, and the French commodore in L'Engageante struck his flag to sir R. Strachan in the Concorde: the Babet had been taken possession of by the Flora; and the Résolue alone escaped. Sir J. B. Warren received the decoration of a red ribbon for this successful action. On the twenty-third of August following, the squadron, consisting of six frigates, chased the French Voluntaire and two corvettes ashore, in the bay of Audierne, south of Brest, where all were stranded, and ultimately destroyed: the state of the channel now became very different from what it had been at the commencement of the war; and the enemy's cruisers, which were then almost in full possession of it, could now scarcely leave their ports without being taken: the services of this western squadron now led the admiralty to increase its force, and divide the command; the second division was given to sir Edward Pellew, and on the thirty-first of October, it met with the French frigate Révolutionnaire, next in size to the Pomone. The Artois, captain Nagle, overtook and brought her to action; when, after they

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had been engaged forty minutes, the Diamond came up; but her chivalrous commander, sir Sidney Smith, would not allow a shot to be fired, saying, Nagle fought his ship so well, that the credit of his victory should not be diminished: but when the enemy did not surrender, he observed, 'she must not be allowed to do mischief,' and ordered a broadside to be prepared: then, taking out his watch, he continued; 'we will allow her five minutes; and if she does not strike, we will fire:' but before the time expired, the French colors were hauled down. Captain Nagle was deservedly knighted for his success.

The progress of our naval power was not so rapid in the Mediterranean; though even there its superiority was soon felt. The disaster at Toulon having paralysed the enemy's maritime force in this quarter, lord Hood was enabled to carry the British troops, in February, to Corsica; which was in a state of revolt against the government. Three thousand soldiers and marines were landed; and these, after some inconsiderable success, nearly effected the reduction of that island by the capture of Bastia, which resisted our army, though joined by a considerable corps of Corsicans collected and sent by Paoli, till the nineteenth of May; when it capitulated on honorable terms. Calvi, the only remaining stronghold of the republicans, was besieged until the first of August, when it also surrendered to the British arms. Here the future hero of the British navy, Nelson, lost an eye; and here he shone forth in all the brilliancy, and disclosed all the peculiarities, of his genius: chiefly by his spirited exertions the place was taken; but his services were wholly overlooked at home, although strongly brought forward by his commander-in-chief: it was on this occasion, that, instead of desponding or retiring from the service, he exclaimed, 'They have not done me justice; but never mind: I will have a gazette of my own.' Fortunately Nelson lived to fulfil this prediction: but our navy had to deplore the loss of another rising officer, captain Walter Serocold; than whom, in the words of his admiral, 'the king had not

a more meritorious young captain in his service; and who was killed by a grape-shot while getting the last gun into its place in our batteries.' He had commanded the floating battery which was burnt with red-hot shot before Bastia; and then served with great gallantry in the batteries on shore.[17] The cession of Corsica, offered by Paoli and the aristocratical party to the king of England, was accepted; and efforts were made to confer the blessings of our constitution on those rude islanders; the ill success of which project did not prevent a similar attempt at a later period of the war in Sicily, where the result was similar. It would have been much wiser to have taken Corsica, as an independent state, under our protection, for the people would then have felt as a nation: but when one party had given up the country to the English, the natural consequence was, that the other looked to France.

Victory of lord Howe.

A more glorious triumph, however, awaited the British navy nearer to our own shores. The French government had by great exertions got twenty-six sail of the line into a fit state for service at Brest; and being anxious about the safety of a large convoy from America, conveying an immense supply of corn and flour, naval stores, and colonial productions, to relieve a scarcity at this time severely felt in France, they sent positive orders to admiral Villaret Joyeuse to put to sea; and he accordingly set sail on the twentieth of May. Lord Howe, who had last year been appointed admiral and commander-in-chief of the channel fleet, with the gallant sir Roger Curtis, the hero of Gibraltar, as his first captain, being aware of the expected convoy, had also put to sea early in this month with twenty-six ships of the line; and in the morning of the twenty-eighth his advanced frigates discovered the enemy at a considerable distance on the weather-bow of the admiral's ship: they came down for some time in loose order, as if unapprised that the British fleet was in view; and after hauling to the wind, when

[17] From the inscription on his monument in the church of Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire, the seat of his family.

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they came nearer, they were some hours before they could regularly form in order of battle; which circumstance afforded time for the detached part of our fleet, under rear admiral Pasley, to be placed advantageously for making an impression on their rear. A partial action ensued between the rearguard of the enemy and the vanguard of our squadron, in the course of which, the Révolutionnaire, a three-decker of 110 guns, was so much damaged, that she fell out of the line; when a close action commenced between this leviathan and the Audacious, a small seventy-four, commanded by captain Parker: it lasted nearly two hours without intermission, at half cable's length; and at the end the French ship was so completely beaten, that she returned the fire of only two or three guns to her opponent's broadside; and was supposed to have struck. Captain Parker lay to during the night, which was very dark; and in the morning had the mortification to discover nine of the enemy's ships to windward, which rescued the disabled prize from his hands; and from which he himself only escaped through the rain and fog which fortunately came on. During the next day, manœuvres were repeated, each party endeavoring to gain the weather-gage of the other; when lord Howe, at the head of several ships, passed through the French squadron, and then put about again, prepared to renew the attack; but the rest of his fleet being now passing to leeward, and beyond the sternmost ships of the French line, the action was discontinued: at this time, also rear-admiral Neilly joined the French commander-in-chief with three sail of the line and two frigates; which reinforcement enabled him to detach his crippled ships from the fleet. A dense fog concealed the rival squadrons from each other during the next two days; but lord Howe, having employed some masterly manœuvres, succeeded in obtaining the weather-gage of the enemy; and early on the memorable first of June, as the sun burst out with unusual splendor, he discovered the French in order of battle, at the distance of a few miles, and bore down in an oblique direction. As he

had the advantage of a strong wind, he was enabled to imitate the decisive manœuvre of the gallant Rodney; and, by breaking their line near the centre, to double on a part of their squadron: a close and desperate engagement ensued, in which extraordinary instances of valor were exhibited on both sides; though skill and discipline were manifestly in favor of the British. Half an hour had scarcely elapsed, before the French admiral, who had been engaged with lord Howe in the Charlotte, was so roughly handled, that he drew ahead, and bore away to the northward, followed by most of the ships in his van, and leaving twelve, that were engaged in close action, to their fate: these, although exposed to a superior force, bravely maintained the conflict, until several on both sides were totally dismasted, and lay like logs on the water. The heroism of one crew, that of Le Vengeur, is deserving of especial commemoration: though the ship was in a sinking state, they magnanimously stuck to their guns; continuing, even after the lower deck was immersed in water, rapidly to discharge the upper tier; and when the ingulfing waves finally closed over her, they went down to the bottom with an enthusiastic cheer, and cries of *Vive la Republique! Vive la Liberté! Vive la France!*

Such, however, was the disabled state of our fleet, that several of the vanquished ships escaped; some under a sprit-sail, or even a small piece of canvass raised on the stump of a foremast: six, however, remained in possession of lord Howe; Le Juste, of eighty guns, Sans Pareille, of eighty; L'Amerique, L'Achille, L'Impétueux, and Le Northumberland, each of seventy-four: the French admiral's ship, Le Montague, of 120 guns, lost her captain, with 500 of her crew, in killed and wounded; so terrible had been the fire of the Charlotte. In the vessels taken the slaughter was prodigious; but the return on board the British fleet was only 279 killed and 877 wounded: the enemy's ships, after much difficulty, regained Brest harbor, shattered, dismasted, and riddled with

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shot, having suffered an immense loss in men;[18] but they were consoled for this humiliating disaster by their attainment of the object for which the engagement had been risked: the American convoy, estimated at £5,000,000 sterling, with a valuable supply of provisions and naval stores, arrived safe in port a few days after the battle, and at a time when the reign of terror and civil dissentions had brought France to the verge of famine.

But if the enemy received consolation in defeat, never was a victory more seasonable to our government: the loyalty of the people, half extinguished by party divisions, awaked at the sound of their victorious cannon; the ancient rivalry of the two nations revived in all its force; and from this period may be dated the commencement of that firm union and zealous enthusiasm among the inhabitants of this country, which carried them triumphantly through the most dangerous contest in which they had ever been engaged.

Lord Howe was received in England with distinguished honors, and presented with a diamond-hilted sword of great value, by his majesty in person, on board the Charlotte; also with a splendid gold chain and medal:[19] each of the rear-admirals, Pasley and Bowyer, was created a baronet, with a pension of £1000 per annum; and admirals Greaves and sir A.

[18] In the six captured ships the killed were 690, wounded 580; total 1270, beside those who went down in Le Vengeur. The number of prisoners removed is stated at 2300. It happened that lord Howe in this engagement met with the same obstacles to complete victory, as, in his early operations counteracted the efforts of Rodney. His orders were not carried into effect, by a very large portion of his fleet, as to passing through the line, and each engaging his opponent to leeward; this however did not appear to have arisen from any wilful disobedience, but from inability in some on account of the bad sailing of their ships; in others from mistaking signals; and in many from the very compact line in which the French were formed; so that five captains only of the British fleet had the nerve to let their ships 'make their own way,' like the Charlotte, through the line. Captain Molloy of the Cæsar, a man of unimpeachable courage being frequently mentioned in an unfavorable manner, demanded a court martial, contrary to the wishes and advice of lord Howe, and was dismissed from the command of his ship. Lord Howe himself could not avoid censure for allowing so many dismasted and disabled French ships to escape.

[19] In December, 1796, his majesty was also pleased to transmit gold chains and medals to the flag officers and captains, who were reported by lord Howe to have signalised themselves in the battle.

Hood were advanced to the peerage. Brilliant illuminations in the principal towns in England displayed the general exultation of the people; and large sums of money were subscribed for the widows and children of those killed in action.

It is worthy of mention that the cartridges on board the French ships in this action, and those used in their fleet generally, were made for the most part of fine painted church music, and *preuves de noblesse* of high families, genealogically illuminated; there being a decree of the convention for applying the archives of the nobility to that purpose:[20] on the ninth of August lord Howe resumed the command of the channel fleet, and on the third of September set sail, with thirty-seven ships of the line and seven frigates, including a small Portugues squadron, to cover our valuable outward and homeward bound convoys; as well as to impress the enemy with a proper idea of our naval resources, in being able to send to sea a fleet of such magnitude, so soon after a great victory.

Disputes with America.

About this time our government became involved in a contention with that of the United States, which ultimately produced serious effects. Soon after the commencement of this war, orders were issued for detaining American vessels freighted with corn for France, and confiscating their cargoes, though not without paying both for them and their freight: the American people highly resented this measure, as an attack on their independence; but their complaints were disregarded, while an order was afterwards issued to seize all vessels carrying provisions and stores to the French colonies; and also to compel their ships, sailing from the British islands, to give security for landing their cargoes in British or neutral ports: in consequence of this, more than 600 American vessels were seized in the space of five months. Farther causes of complaint were given to the United States by the occupation of some ceded forts on the frontiers of Canada, and by a conference, which its governor, lord Dorchester, held with some Indian tribes: the

[20] See Barrow's Life of Earl Howe, p. 288.

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American government, in retaliation, laid an embargo of thirty days on British shipping in their ports, and appointed Mr. Jay their minister for composing differences between the two countries: he arrived in the summer of this year, and delivered a memorial on the subject; in which, among other complaints, our government was accused of compelling American seamen to serve on board British ships of war. Mr. Pitt tendered a conciliatory answer; and both parties being inclined to peace, the dispute was at this time brought to a compromise; a mean and pitiful mode of acting, too much resorted to by our government, which frequently subjects the country to vast expenses afterwards, and to a diminution of national honor, in order to escape present inconvenience. We must now revert to military proceedings on the continent of Europe.

Military operations on the continent.

The advantages which had resulted from a levy *en masse* encouraged the committee of public safety to prepare with alacrity for another campaign; and 750,000 men, exclusive of those in garrisons and hospitals, were reported as ready to act offensively against the confederated monarchs. What rendered this immense force particularly formidable, was the ability, as well as the unanimity, with which it was managed, and the military talent which was rising up among its ranks: the genius of Carnot had, from the first, selected able officers from the crowds that presented themselves; and the plan of transferring them rapidly from one situation to another gave ample opportunities for discovering those in whom confidence might be placed. Wielding at command this mighty and energetic mass, the central government had discovered the real secret of military operations; and by accumulating a preponderating force against one part of the enemy's line, and bringing up column after column to the attack, they soon acquired a decided superiority over the Austrians, who adhered with obstinate pertinacity to the system of extending their position.

In the mean time, Austria and Prussia had made little or no addition to their military levies: the

emperor indeed had recommended the Germanic confederation to oppose the republicans by a levy *en masse*, but he neglected to set them an example: Prussia vehemently opposed this plan, and not without reason; as tending to ruin agricultural districts, and as not likely to be effective, except where the populace was animated by a spirit similar to that which excited France; while the unsettled opinions of the lower classes in monarchical states might render it a measure of perilous consequences: moreover, the sincerity of Frederic had become very doubtful, from conferences of a suspicious kind which had been held between M. Kalkreuth and the French commissioners during the course of the winter; while rivalry and jealousy among all the allies became so manifest, that on the sixth of January the duke of Brunswick resigned his command. In a letter addressed to the Prussian monarch on this occasion, after alluding to the vigor and unanimity displayed by the French, he goes on to say, 'that if, instead of co-operating with similar principles, each army acts separately and without concert with the others, without fixed plans, and without concord; the consequences to be expected must be such as have been seen at Dunkirk, at Maubeuge, at the capture of Lyons, at the destruction of Toulon, and at the siege of Landau.' 'The same causes,' he says in conclusion, 'which have divided the allied powers, divide them still: the movements of the armies will again suffer as they have suffered; they will experience delay and embarrassments; and these will prove the source of a train of misfortunes, the consequences of which are incalculable.'

Field-marshal Mollendorf now took the command of the Prussian army; and an intimation made to the prince of Saxe Coburg, that he had received orders from his court to march toward Cologne, was followed on the eighteenth of March by a proclamation, announcing Frederic William's actual secession from the coalition. This *ruse d'état* appears to have had the effect intended; for it almost immediately extracted the subsidy from Great Britain; great part of which,

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however, was diverted from its original purpose, to forward designs on Poland.

In a general council of war held at Ath, to receive the projected arrangements of the court of Vienna, it was proposed that Saxe Coburg should continue at the head of the grand imperial army, and that general Clairfait should be appointed to command the auxiliary forces; the duke of York acting under his orders: this, however, his royal highness rejected with disdain; and the dispute was only settled by a determination of the emperor to take the field in person as supreme commander. On the ninth of April, his imperial majesty arrived at Brussels; whence he proceeded to Valenciennes, where his presence was hailed with great joy: on the sixteenth, he reviewed the whole army, amounting to 150,000 men, on the heights above Cateau; and next day they marched in eight columns to invest Landrecy: the fourth and fifth of these were formed from the army commanded by the duke of York, who took on himself to direct the former, while the latter was committed to sir William Erskine:[1] this column, when proceeding to gain the Bois de Bohain, met with resistance at the village of Premont, where the French were strongly posted: sir William, therefore, detached the second brigade of British infantry and the Austrian cuirassiers, with four squadrons of cavalry, under the command of general Harcourt, to turn their flank; while three battalions of the regiment of Kaunitz, supported by a well-directed fire from the artillery of the reserve under lieutenant-colonel Congreve, charged the enemy in front; by which manœuvre the British commander gained the redoubts that held him at bay, and accomplished his purpose. The siege of Landrecy was soon formed; and after ten days of open trenches, and a severe bombardment, which almost destroyed the town, that important fortress, which repelled the utmost efforts of prince Eugene in 1712, fell into the hands of the

[1] The prince of Hesse Darmstadt commanded the first column; lieutenant-general Alvinzi the second; the emperor and prince Coburg the third; count Haddick the sixth; the hereditary prince of Orange the seventh; and the Dutch general Geusau the eighth.

prince of Saxe Coburg: it was intended to form a basis to a series of operations against Paris. During the progress of this siege, the republicans made attacks on the posts and different corps which formed the long cordon of allies, followed by a movement of their whole line, on the twenty-sixth of April: the detachment which advanced against the duke of York near Cambray, arriving at the redoubts of Troisville, met with a vigorous resistance by the British guards in front, who were supported by prince Schwartzenburg at the head of a regiment of Austrian cuirassiers: at this moment, general Otto charged the enemy in flank with the English cavalry, and drove them back in confusion to Cambray, with a loss of thirty-five pieces of cannon and above 4000 men: nor was their centre more successful against the Austrians; who, having lately been reinforced, and being supported by a numerous artillery, repulsed the assailants with great slaughter. These advantages, however, on the side of the allies, were counterbalanced by a severe check at the extreme right of their line: on that side, the French had assembled 50,000 men under Souham and Moreau, who advanced on the twenty-fifth of April; when Clairfait, attacked by very superior forces, was driven back, with a loss of thirty pieces of artillery and 1200 prisoners, on Tournay: thither prince Coburg detached the duke of York for his support;[2] while he himself remained to put Landrecy in a state of defence.

Convinced, by the failure of this attack on the centre of the allies, that its force was too small in that quarter, the committee of public safety now directed Jourdan to reinforce the army of the Moselle with 15,000 men from that of the Rhine; and, after leaving a corps of observation at Luxemburg, to march with

[2] An example of Austrian etiquette, exhibited on occasion of this march, will speak volumes. In no instance did they permit foreign troops to pass through their garrisoned towns; and *their own troops*, co-operating with the British, were looked on in that light; so that permission to pass through Valenciennes was not accorded to them. Though liable to be called into action, for any thing they knew to the contrary, next day, and hastening by forced marches to the protection of their own general, the duke's army was driven from the paved road into heavy ground, where the horses could scarcely drag the artillery and ammunition waggons. Could such people expect to conquer the republicans?

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45,000 men on the Ardenne forest, and join the army of the Sambre: thus 90,000 men were drawn to one point at the extreme left of the confederates. On the tenth of May, this army crossed the river; but the allies having collected their forces to cover the important city of Mons, the republicans were defeated, and obliged to recross it: on the twentieth, they crossed it again, and returned to the charge; but on the twenty-fourth were surprised, and completely routed by the Austrians under prince Kaunitz: the troops were flying in confusion to the bridges, when Kleber arrived with a reinforcement, to arrest the pursuing enemy, and save the French from destruction: nevertheless, they were a second time obliged to recross the Sambre, with a loss of twenty-five guns and 4000 men.

In the mean time, the allies had collected 90,000 troops in West Flanders, including 133 squadrons under the emperor's immediate command; and the position of the French left wing suggested to them a design of cutting it off from the main body: for this purpose the confederates were divided into six columns, and directed by converging lines on the French corps at Turcoing; but the old system prevented what might have been a brilliant result to this project: such was the distance between the columns, such the want of due co-operation, that they did not arrive simultaneously at the point of attack; consequently, there was no unity or consistency in their proceedings; and although some slight advantages were gained on the seventeenth of May near Turcoing, the republicans, by concentrating their troops, were enabled to fall with irresistible force on the insulated columns of their opponents. At three in the morning of the eighteenth, general Souham, with 45,000 men, attacked the detachments of general Otto and of the duke of York, while another body of 15,000 advanced against them from Lille: the forces under Otto were defeated with great loss; and those under his royal highness, though at first they defended themselves with great intrepidity, finding the communication with their allies inter-

cepted, and themselves nearly surrounded, took to flight; while the duke himself escaped only by the swiftness of his horse: in company with an Austrian general, and two other officers, he entered a village, supposing it in possession of their friends; but on turning a corner at full gallop, the party found themselves opposite a column of the enemy; which, imagining the duke to be at the head of a charge of cavalry, turned and fled; but not without a volley, which killed the Austrian general by his side: recovering, however, from their mistake, they pursued the remaining trio so closely, that the latter escaped with great difficulty to Tournay. Such was the defect of combination in prince Coburg's operations, that at the time when his central columns were overwhelmed by enormous masses, with a loss of 3000 men and 60 pieces of cannon, two columns on his left, amounting to 30,000 men, under the archduke Charles and Kinsky, remained inactive; and Clairfait, with 17,000 on his right, came up too late to take an efficient part in the action.

On the twenty-second of May, Pichegru, who had lately assumed the command, renewed the attack with a force raised to 100,000 men, intending to force the passage of the Scheldt, and lay siege to Tournay: he succeeded in driving in the outposts; but the Hanoverians in that quarter, being reinforced by the English, under general Fox, and seven Austrian battalions, defeated his attempts at the village of Pont-a-chin, and drove the republicans off the field with a loss of 6,000 men: the French general then determined to carry the war into West Flanders, where the country, intersected by hedges, was less favorable to the allied cavalry: accordingly, he laid siege to Ypres; while the emperor conducted 10,000 men, in person, to reinforce the army on the Sambre; and the right wing of the allies, thus weakened, remained in a defensive position near Tournay.

Meanwhile, the French generals, strongly urged by the commissioners of the convention, and constrained by authorities who appealed to the guillotine as their

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last argument, prepared for a third attempt to pass the Sambre: for this purpose, Kleber, toward the end of May, pushed forward his troops, though exhausted by fatigue, and almost in a state of starvation: the consequence was a repulse; but on the twenty-ninth, the indomitable republicans returned to the charge; and after an obstinate conflict, forcing back the imperialists, proceeded to the investment of Charleroi: but the arrival of the emperor changed the face of affairs; and the French were driven once more over the Sambre, with a loss of 2000 men. This, however, was but of small importance; for on the day following, Jourdan came up, with a reinforcement of 40,000 fresh troops.

Such an overwhelming force, drawn by the sagacity of Carnot against one point, eventually decided the fate of the campaign. In the first instance the republicans sustained a severe check; for when they had proceeded to re-invest Charleroi, and had destroyed its principal outworks, the allies made astonishing efforts to relieve it: advancing by concentric columns, and penetrating the line of their adversaries in two places, they drove them again over the river, with a loss of 3000 men: this very success, however, proved injurious to their cause; for it induced Saxe Coburg to suppose that his left wing was now secure; he therefore detached all his disposable troops to the succor of Ypres, and of Clairfait, on the right; whereas it was against the other flank of his army that the republican force was directed.

On the eighteenth of June, the French crossed the Sambre for the fifth time, with 70,000 men, and again advanced against Charleroi; under the walls of which it now became evident the battle was to be fought, that should decide the fate of Flanders: accordingly, the greater part of the allied force was at length moved in that direction; the duke of York, with the British and Hanoverians, being alone left on the Scheldt, at a short distance from Clairfait, who had lately suffered some disastrous reverses.

In the mean time, though Jourdan had drawn off

40,000 men from the Rhine, and offered a fair opportunity of resuming offensive operations to the Prussians, who were in great force around Mayence; yet nothing of importance was attempted: even when the imperialist general, Michaud, having been strongly reinforced, was preparing for vigorous efforts, the king of Prussia resisted every attempt of the British ambassador, stimulating him to execute the part assigned to him by the treaty of the Hague: his whole attention was fixed on Poland; and nothing could induce him to give directions for prosecuting the war on the Rhine, before circumstances rendered it impossible to do so with advantage.

Very different was the conduct of Pichegru; for no sooner was the emperor's departure for the army of the Sambre known, than, resolving to profit by the weakness of his opponents, he marched on Ypres. Clairfait remained firm in his intrenched camp at Thielt, expecting a movement by the centre of the allied army to his support; but this, owing to traitorous information, was prevented by a demonstration from the French centre: Clairfait, therefore, was compelled to make an isolated attack; and being worsted, was driven back to his former position; while 30,000 Austrians lay inactive at Tournay, and 6000 English, under the earl of Moira, sent from the coasts of Britany, were reposing, after the fatigues of their voyage, at Ostend: among these was the future hero of Waterloo, lieutenant-colonel Wellesley, of the 33rd foot, now about to commence his first campaign. Saxe Coburg made a tardy movement for the relief of Ypres; but, hearing of its fall, he returned on the nineteenth of June to Tournay.

The Austrians, having finally separated their forces from the English, moved them toward their left wing, with a view of succoring Charleroi, severely pressed by Jourdan. On the twenty-second, Saxe Coburg numbered 75,000 troops under his command; but he delayed to attack his adversary, who took advantage of this inactivity to press Charleroi so vigorously, that it capitulated on the twenty-fifth; and the garrison

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had scarcely left its gates, before the sound of Austrian cannon announced a tardy movement to its relief. Next day the celebrated battle took place on the plains of Fleurus, which broke the power of Austria in the Netherlands.

The French army, 89,000 strong, was posted in a semicircle round Charleroi, now become, instead of a weak point, the very key of their position: the imperialists, though inferior in numbers, still adhered to their old system of assailing the enemy on different points; and at daybreak on the twenty-sixth they advanced for this purpose in five columns. The first, under the prince of Orange, attacked the French left under general Montaigu, and was, after various success, on the very point of carrying the village of Marchiennes-au-pont, and intercepting the whole communications of the republican army; when Jourdan, in alarm, ordered up Kleber to support his left: that intrepid general hastily erected several batteries against the enemy's fire, and pushed forward Bernadotte with some battalions to the aid of Montaigu; when the allies, being unsupported, and assailed in front and flank, fell back, abandoning all the ground they had gained in that quarter.

In the mean time, the centre, where the village of Fleurus was occupied by 16,000 troops and strengthened by intrenchments, became the scene of an obstinate contest: an attack of the allies in front was successfully repulsed; but general Beaulieu, with their left wing, having carried the post of Lambusart on the French right, the republicans on the left were forced to give way; the important post of Fleurus, exposed both in front and flank, was on the point of being taken; and the central divisions were in full retreat; when Jourdan hastened to their rescue with six battalions, and checked the enemy's advance: at the same time, Dubois with his cavalry overthrew the imperial infantry, and took fifty pieces of cannon: being, however, disordered by their rapid charge, they were attacked in turn by the Austrian cuirassiers, obliged to leave the captured guns, and driven back to their own lines.

Meanwhile, the left wing of the allies under Beaulieu, after various attempts, carried the village of Lambusart, and drove the greater part of the republican forces opposed to them across the Sambre; but the rapid fire of the French artillery prevented them from obtaining complete success, or even debouching from the village. As affairs stood, the French were worsted in every quarter: the right, under Moreau, being driven back, had in great part recrossed the river; the left, under Montaigu, had done the same; and the forces in the centre had been partly compelled to recede, while the grand redoubt which covered the village of Fleurus was in danger of being carried: at this moment, the prince of Saxe Coburg, having heard that Charleroi had fallen, ordered the allied forces to retire at all points; as if that had been the only object for which they were contending: thus ended, in a drawn battle, what might have been a splendid victory; and the loss of the Netherlands followed a contest, which would have led a spirited and able commander to the capital of France.

Coburg now retired to Nivelles, and soon afterwards took post at Mont St. Jean and Waterloo, in advance of the forest of Soignies, places since rendered so famous in the annals of war: Mons was then abandoned, and the allied forces were concentrated before Brussels: several actions took place in the beginning of July between the rear guard of the allies and the French, at Mont St. Jean, Brain la Leude, and the Sambre; but prince Coburg found himself unable to maintain his position at Brussels, and fell back behind the Dyle.

The superiority of the republican forces was so great in Western Flanders, that Tournay was evacuated; and Pichegru marched on Ghent to force back Clairfait, while he detached Moreau against the strong places on the coast; where Nieuport and fort Ecluse, the key of the Scheldt, were taken; while the island of Cadsand was soon afterwards overrun. Clairfait, though reinforced by the British troops, which had

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marched from Ostend,[3] under lord Moira, was unable to make head against Pichegru: having vainly attempted, in conjunction with prince Coburg, to cover Brussels, he also fell back behind the Dyle; while the duke of York retired in the same direction, and encamped between Malines and Louvain: this retreat of the allied powers enabled the victorious armies of Pichegru and Jourdan to unite before Brussels on the tenth of July.

The English, Hanoverian, and Dutch forces, amounting to 45,000 men, now took post behind the canal of Malines, to cover Antwerp and Holland; when the Austrians retired by Tirlemont on Liege, for the purpose of drawing nearer to their resources at Cologne and Coblentz: thus, while the chief forces of the republicans were concentrated at Brussels, with their wings extending to Vilvorde and to Namur, their opponents retired toward the north and south, diverging daily farther and farther from each other: this gave to an enterprising and powerful enemy the means of crushing them separately, and left him in a strong salient position, which would soon render the provinces of the Lower Rhine and the United Provinces untenable by his antagonists. On the fifteenth, the canal of Malines was forced; when the duke of York retired to Antwerp, which he soon evacuated, to concentrate his forces in the neighborhood of Breda for the defence of Holland: in the mean time, Jourdan pursued his advantages against Saxe Coburg, taking Liege and Tongres, while the Austrians retired behind the Meuse; after which, nothing of importance was meditated, until Valenciennes and other frontier places, which had been captured by the allies at the commencement of the war, should be reduced. The evacuation of Flanders was regarded, at the time, as a matter of policy on the part of his imperial majesty;

[3] 'This town was evacuated on the first of July: the garrison at Nieuport might have been withdrawn at the same time; but it was overlooked in the hurry of removing the stores from other places: 500 emigrants found in the town after its surrender, fell into the hands of their enraged countrymen, and were drawn up in the dry ditch, exposed to the fire of artillery loaded with grape shot.'—Narrative of the War, by an Officer of the Guards, vol. ii. p. 77.

who, being irritated by the want of energy and disaffection of the people, intended that they should experience the difference between his mild government and that of the disciples of Robespierre. 'But,' says an accurate observer,[4] 'had this been the case, marshal Clairfait would assuredly have received a hint of his sovereign's intention; as a prodigious number of lives might have been easily spared, which were sacrificed, while that unfortunate general was disputing the ground, inch by inch, with the invaders.' If, however, says the same authority, it afforded the emperor any consolation, in his misfortunes, to know that the Netherlanders smarted under the republican gripe, his feelings must have been gratified in a very peculiar manner: every young man capable of bearing arms found himself in requisition; the coin of the country was called in, and exchanged for assignats at par; merchandise and private property were indiscriminately seized; and the revolutionary tribunal was kept in constant employ by commissioners sent to fraternise and unite Belgium with France. Among numerous victims to their insatiable barbarity, were two of the most beautiful young women of Tournay, ardently attached to a pair of British officers: after the evacuation of the town, letters from those absent lovers were found in their possession; and being accused of correspondence with the enemy, they were hurried to the fatal cart, and conveyed to Lisle; nor did the merciless blade of the guillotine ever descend on more lovely or innocent martyrs.[5] Ghent was taxed to the amount of 7,000,000 livres: the convent of nobles paid 1,000,000; that of Bodeloo 800,000; and mercantile houses in proportion: where there was no specie, goods were seized; all carriages were considered in a state of requisition, and the owners ordered, under pain of death, to send them to a general repository: Bruges was taxed in 4,000,000 livres; of which the clergy were to pay 2,000,000, and the nobles 1,000,000;

[4] See An accurate and impartial Narrative of the War, by an Officer of the Guards, vol. ii. p. 75.

[5] Narrative of the War, vol. ii. p. 76.

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Ostend in 2,000,000; and every other town or village in proportion to its size: Lille and Dunkirk were the grand dépôts for this plunder; and in order to expedite its transportation, as well as the produce of the harvest, all young men from fifteen to thirty were constrained to work on the canal leading from Nieuport to Dunkirk: no alternative was allowed but that of the guillotine.

To hasten the reduction of Valenciennes and other fortresses, a bloody decree issued from the convention, ordering its commanders to refuse quarter to any garrison which should not surrender within twenty-four hours after the first summons: the French generals, however, who were not deficient in honor and humanity, refused to execute this infamous order,[6] which was soon rendered nugatory by the fall of Robespierre on the twenty-eighth of July. So sanguinary had the reign of this monster become, that after his rage had been satiated with all that was dignified in rank, eminent in science, and lovely in virtue, the lower classes began to feel the approach of danger to themselves; his own creatures trembled for their lives; and the convention, which he had undertaken to decimate, becoming alarmed for its own safety, labored to undermine his influence, and to work out his downfall. Tallien, an intrepid man, who had been awakened to better feelings, was at the head of the conspirators: Barrère, Billaud de Varennes, Cambon, as well as the friends of Danton, enlisted under his banners; and the dictator, with his executioner Henriot, the eloquent but inexorable St. Just, Dumas the atrocious president of the revolutionary tribunal, Couthon, Le Bas, and the younger Robespierre, were denounced in the hall of the convention, and arrested: liberated from prison by the municipality of Paris, these decemvirs had nearly lighted up a civil contest

[6] Some time before, a decree had been issued by the convention to give no quarter to the English and Hanoverian soldiers; to which the duke of York, with the true spirit of a British prince, replied by an order of the day, ordering all French captives to be treated with the same humanity as before; and reminding his army, 'that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character.'

in the streets of the capital, but the populace, satiated with blood, now failed them; a part perished by their own hands, and the rest under the axe of that guillotine with which they had desolated their country.

Execution of Robespierre.

At four in the morning of July 29, all Paris was in motion to witness the execution of the tyrant: he was placed on the car between Henriot and Couthon, the latter of whom wept with terror, while the former was uttering blasphemies: the crowd, which from satiety had long ceased to attend executions, flocked to this with extravagant joy; while the blood from Robespierre's jaw, which had been broken by the pistol-shot of Meda, who arrested him, burst through the bandage, and overflowed his dress: his face was ghastly pale; he shut his eyes; but could not close his ears against the execrations of the multitude. A frantic woman, rushing from the midst of it, exclaimed, —'Murderers of all my kindred, your agony fills me with joy: descend to hell, covered with the curses of every mother in France.' Twenty of his comrades were executed before him; and when he ascended the scaffold, the executioner, tearing the bandage from his face, caused the lower jaw to fall; on which he uttered a yell that filled even the hearts of such as beheld him with horror: for some minutes the frightful figure was exhibited to the crowd; he was then placed under the fatal axe, and the last sounds that met his ears were the exulting shouts which hailed his exit from the world. Thus fell a man, whose fate strikingly marks the danger of a principle, too often acted on, which teaches—'that the end sanctifies the means:' the lower orders in France having become discontented with the revolution, the whole advantages of which seemed to be intercepted by the *bourgeoisie*, attached themselves to Robespierre, who, with his friend St. Just, advocated the doctrine of absolute equality, as the only method of ameliorating the condition of the working classes: both these leaders were so convinced of the inefficiency of any other power to purify the social system, that they determined to establish a dictatorial authority: having effected this, and resolved

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also to act on the false principle above mentioned, they proceeded to remove summarily every obstacle in their way, by exterminating all who were considered selfish adversaries of their system of fraternization: the result of this was the reign of terror, the most revolting tyranny which mankind had ever yet witnessed; and which fell at last before the violated feelings of human nature. But though sentiments of humanity began to appear once more in the French government, there was no relaxation in that energy and spirit which pushed its armies on to conquest.

While the fortune of war was, after a sanguinary contest, inclining to the French arms on the northern frontier, events, of less importance indeed, but not less favorable to them, occurred in other quarters: the defection of Prussia from the confederation paralysed all operations on the Rhine; and the reduction of Lyons and Toulon, by liberating the armies employed against those cities, gave an early and decisive superiority to the republican cause in the south. Before the middle of April, the army of the Alps amounted to 75,000 men; opposed to which were only 40,000 Piedmontese and 10,000 Austrian auxiliaries: but the committee of public safety, oppressed as they were in other quarters, contented themselves with enjoining their commanders to drive the enemy over the mountains, and to seize the passes; leaving to a future year the favorite scheme of bursting into Italy. After a defeat of general Sarret at Little St. Bernard, and some repulses at Mont Cenis, general Dumas made himself master of the first pass in this latter barrier on the twenty-third of April; and about the middle of next month he took the second, with a loss to the Sardinians of 600 prisoners and twenty pieces of cannon: he thus secured the whole ridge of the Alps between Savoy and Piedmont; and the key of Italy fell into the hands of the republicans. On the frontiers of Nice the operations of the French leaders were directed by Napoleon Bonaparte, whose design was to turn Saorgio by its left, and cut off the retreat of its garrison, by the great road over the Col di Tende.

His attacking force was divided into three columns: the first, of 20,000 men, under Massena, advanced on the first of April, with twenty pieces of cannon, intending to pass between Saorgio and the sea; the second, of 10,000 under Dumerbion, remained in front of the enemy; while the third, of equal numbers, directed its course to the upper extremities of the valleys of the Vesubia, to communicate with the army of Savoy by Isola. All were eminently successful: Massena, having traversed the neutral territory of Genoa as far as Garessio, found himself in advance of the enemy's main body intrenched on the western side of the mountains. Guided by Rusca, an intrepid chasseur well acquainted with these Alpine heights, he pursued his success; and by a skilful combination of his forces, stormed the redoubts of the Col Ardente, reached Tanardo, and took the heights which command the pass of the Briga: in the mean time, Dumerbion's attack of the centre had been equally fortunate; and the Sardinians, evacuating the celebrated camp of Rauss, fell back toward the Col di Tende: his leading columns now approached the fortress of Saorgio, as Massena's troops appeared on the heights behind it; and this rocky citadel surrendered at the first summons: nor was the French left less successful, which ascended the Vesubia, and drove the allies back to the Col de Finisterre; while general Serrurier cleared the valley of the Tinea, and established a communication with the army of Savoy by Isola. To complete these manœuvres, Dumerbion despatched Garnier to seize the Col de Finisterre, when he should attack the Col di Tende with his centre: both operations succeeded; so that before the end of May, the republicans were masters of all the passes in the maritime Alps; and while from the summit of Mont Cenis they threatened a descent on the valley of Susa and Turin, from the Col di Tende they could advance directly to besiege the important fortress of Coni. Napoleon wished to push straight on to the conquest of Italy; but the reverses at Keyserslauten induced the government to

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withdraw 10,000 men from the army of the Alps in order to support that of the Rhine, leaving the conquerors of these aerial citadels to repose there after their fatigues.

On the side of Spain, the war assumed a still more decided character: the reduction of Toulon had enabled the central government to detach general Dugommier, with half his forces, to reinforce the division posted on the eastern Pyrenees; and it was resolved to act offensively at both extremities of that mountain barrier. Encamped under the cannon of Perpignan, the French general took active measures for infusing vigor and discipline into his army; while that of the Spaniards was proportionally neglected. On the twenty-seventh of March, the republicans advanced toward the enemy's position; a strong redoubt was captured; and soon afterwards, the Spanish general, Dagobert, was taken off by a malignant fever, which had sent above 10,000 of his men to the hospitals: the marquis Amarillas, who succeeded him, withdrew his men into the intrenched camp at Boulon, and was shortly afterwards superseded in the command by general la Union, who injudiciously transferred his head quarters to Ceret: he was there attacked, on the thirtieth of April, by the whole French force; a redoubt in his centre was stormed; and the Spanish army retreated in confusion; so that the French made themselves masters of the road to Bellegarde, by which the Spaniards were cut off from the regular pass into their own country: being seized with a panic, they fled in confusion over the hills, and could only be rallied under the cannon of Figueras, leaving 140 guns, 1500 men, and 800 mules, with all their ammunition and baggage, in the enemy's hands. After some other successes, the sieges of Bellegarde and Collioure, the most important places occupied by the Spaniards on the French side of the Pyrenees, were undertaken: marshal Navarro, with 7000 men in garrison, made a gallant defence of the latter fortress; but the ardor of republican enthusiasm, and the skill of French

engineers, who transported artillery to places deemed inaccessible, produced its surrender on the twenty-sixth of May.

At the other end of the Pyrenean chain, nothing of importance was undertaken till June; wh n, stimulated by advantages gained in Rousillon, and assured of the organisation of their new levies, the French government determined to invade Spain at both extremities of the Pyrenees: the irruption on the west took place in three columns by the valley of Bastan, from the whole of which, by the end of July, the Spaniards were driven; their intrenched camp, defended by 200 pieces of cannon, on the Bidassoa, was taken; and Fontarabia surrendered at the first summons: on the fourth of August, St. Sebastian, though garrisoned by 1700 regular troops, capitulated without firing a shot; and thus the French were firmly fixed on the Spanish soil, with all their wants abundantly supplied.

In the mean time, Bellegarde was reduced to extremity; and la Union, reinforced by Catalonian levies, made strenuous efforts to relieve it, by an impetuous attack on the right wing of the French, at the head of which was Augereau; but his plans were defeated by the conduct of that general; and after a few days Bellegarde capitulated: the Spanish commander excused himself by the insubordination and misconduct of his troops, who for the most part threw away their arms, and took to flight: a battalion was decimated for its cowardice; and la Union, despairing of success, solicited his dismissal.

Discouraged by such reverses, the court of Madrid made proposals for peace; but these were thought so inadmissible, that Dugommier was ordered 'to return an answer from the cannon's mouth.' In the mean time, the Spanish commander had leisure to strengthen his apparently inaccessible position with 250 cannon, in two lines, along a succession of heights nearly seven leagues in extent; while an intrenched camp around Figueras offered him a secure retreat in case of disaster. On the night of the sixteenth of

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November, the French attacking army, 30,000 strong, advanced in three columns; the right, under Augereau, after an arduous march of eighteen hours over rocks and precipices, drove the Spaniards, under Courten, from the camp of La Madelaine, and carried the intrenchments in that quarter; but the left, under general Lauret, was repulsed by a tremendous fire from the Spanish batteries: the brave Dugommier, while preparing to support him, was killed by a shell; but Perpignon, who succeeded to the command, ably extricated Lauret from his perilous situation. Augereau, however, had vigorously pursued his success; and, moving his troops toward the centre, forced the grand redoubt, though bravely defended by 1200 men: the Spaniards then abandoned the heights, with all their artillery, and took refuge in their camp at Figueras.

The republican troops, as usual, followed up their advantages. Perpignon, wisely judging that the Spaniards were weakest on the left, reinforced Augereau with two fresh brigades, and on the twentieth of November moved all his forces to the attack. General Bon, leading the vanguard of the right wing over tracts hardly considered passable by single persons, repeatedly crossed the river Muga; and, ascending the mountain Escaulas under a terrible fire from the Spanish redoubts, carried the central intrenchment by the bayonet: la Union, hastening with the reserve to the redoubt of la Rosere, which was deemed impregnable, fell on the spot; the fort was stormed, and its whole garrison put to the sword: the rest of the redoubts were then evacuated and blown up; the troops fled in headlong haste, overthrew a column of their own countrymen coming up to their defence, and rushed in utter dismay within the walls of Figueras: a few days afterwards, the garrison, which consisted of 9000 men, and was amply provided with provisions and stores of all sorts, laid down their arms; and the strongest place in Spain was delivered up to its invaders.

We must now return to the operations of war on

the northern frontier, which did not seem likely to be stopped even by the approach of winter. The army of the north was 70,000 strong; that of the Sambre and Meuse, nominally rated at 145,000, had about 120,000 effective men; while the duke of York had scarcely 50,000 to protect the United Provinces; and Clairfait, who had assumed the command which Saxe Coburg resigned, could muster only 100,000 to maintain the imperial authority in the Flemish provinces: but, morally considered, the inequality between the contending armies was still greater.

On the twenty-seventh of August, Condé surrendered after the example of Quesnoy; in both which instances it was suspected that French gold had stronger influence than their bayonets: on the thirtieth, general Micovini delivered the keys of Valenciennes to the republicans, after securing good terms for his garrison; and there, beside the usual magazines, immense stores fell into the hands of the enemy, consisting of heavy baggage belonging to the British army, with the standards of its cavalry.[7] As all anxiety about his rear was thus removed, Pichegru, being reinforced by Moreau's division, resumed offensive operations by an invasion of Holland; while the duke of York, with little more than half his numbers, had to defend a frontier twenty leagues in extent. His royal highness at first took up a defensive position behind the river Aa; but the French, having passed the morass of Piel, though deemed an insuperable barrier between the contending powers, suddenly attacked the advanced posts of the British right on the fourteenth of September; when that of Boxtel was forced, and 1500 of the Hesse Darmstadt troops were made prisoners. As the whole line then became untenable, general Abercrombie was sent to retake it; but he found the enemy so strongly posted, that he was obliged to retreat; and the duke himself retired to the

[7] 'The Austrians,' says an accurate observer, 'on their retreat from Tournay, certainly suspected that Condé would be wrested from the emperor, as they carefully removed their own stores from that fortress, though it was by Coburg's advice that the duke of York made use of it as a dépôt.'—Accurate and impartial Narrative of the War, vol. ii. p. 85.

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right bank of the Meuse, leaving the important places of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Bois-le-Duc to their own resources.[8]

Meanwhile, the army of the Sambre under Jourdan, being divided into six columns, prepared on the eighteenth of September to attack the Austrians; who, after several ineffectual attempts to make a stand, finally evacuated their positions on the Meuse, and retired towards Rolduc and Aix-la-Chapelle: Jourdan quickly followed them; and, while Kleber with 15,000 men blockaded Maestricht, he drove their discomfited forces to a strong position behind the Roer. On the second of October, he led an army, 100,000 strong, and highly disciplined, against his opponents, who occupied a series of heights behind the river, whence their numerous train of artillery kept up a destructive fire: but nothing could arrest the enthusiasm of the republicans; their grenadiers, under Bernadotte, plunged into the stream, and took the heights; general Scherer also forced a passage over the river, and made himself master of Dueren; while Clairfait, who had maintained himself bravely in the centre, was obliged to retreat with a loss of 3000 men, and to cross the Rhine: next day, Jourdan entered Cologne, and by the twentieth of October extended his forces to Bonn; soon afterwards the siege of Maestricht was undertaken in earnest; 200 pieces of artillery were sent down the Meuse, which spread destruction through the city; and on the fourth of November, the garrison, despairing of relief, surrendered that noble fortress, with 350 pieces of cannon, into the hands of the French. After this event, and the capture of the castle

[8] 'The French videttes, were advanced in many places to the opposite side of the river, and frequently conversed with the British soldiers; expressing great regard for their national character, and assuring them that Pichegru's army received with universal disgust the decree of the convention, to grant their brave enemies no quarter. They would frequently hold forth for hours with native garrulity, winding up their remarks with this good and wholesome advice:—'Englishmen, go home: you have no business here; you are too honest to be leagued with Austrians and Prussians: they will soon leave you in the lurch; and as to the Hessians, the langrave will turn them all over to us to-morrow, if the convention offers him a ducat a day more than you now pay him.' These conversations usually ended with our men striking up 'God save the king;' and theirs, *Ah ça ira*, or the *Carmagnol*.'—Ibid. vol. ii. p. 88.

of Rheinfels by the army of the Moselle, there remained to the Austrians nothing of all their possessions on the left of the Rhine, but Luxemburg and Mayence.

When the duke of York retreated, Pichegru laid siege to Bois-le-Duc; a strong place at the confluence of three streams, and important to the republicans as a base for their future operations. At this period, the Dutch patriots began openly to avow their principles, the stadtholder's party decreased daily, and great dissentions prevailed in the principal cities of the United Provinces: though the means of defence at Bois-le-Duc had been much neglected both by the duke of York and the States-General, the mounds of the dikes were pierced, and the inundation succeeded in a great degree; but the French, having taken the fortress of Crevecœur, which commanded the sluices of Bois-le-Duc, and which surrendered almost at the first shot, were enabled to draw off the water, and invest the place: after a defence disgraceful to the Dutch arms, it capitulated on the ninth of October; and here again more than 400 unfortunate emigrants were butchered *en masse* at the head of the French army. After this loss, the duke distributed his forces along the Waal, but was soon driven across that river: he then stationed part of his troops within an intrenched camp under the guns of Nimeguen, distributing the remainder in a line round Thiel, and between the Waal and the Leck, communicating with a Dutch corps at Gorcum, in the hope of being permitted to winter there undisturbed: in the mean time, Pichegru invested Grave and Venloo, the latter of which places surrendered even before the works were injured. These successes, however, were only a prelude to more decisive results: toward the end of October, Pichegru undertook the siege of Nimeguen: the duke of York approached with 30,000 men; and, in the beginning of November, a portion of the garrison, principally British troops, sallied out, under general de Burgh, against the enemy's works: advancing under a very heavy fire, and leaping into the trenches, without drawing a trigger, they drove the besiegers from their

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position with the bayonet, occasioning them a loss of 500 men: this success, however, was only temporary; two days afterwards, the French opened two batteries on the bridge of boats, and one on the town; which the allied commanders hastily evacuated, and marched toward Thiel, leaving 2500 men under general de Burgh: these troops, together with the Dutch, were thought to be a sufficient garrison; but discouraged by the flight of their fellow-soldiers, and terrified by the redoubled fire of the French, they abandoned the place next night. The British and Hanoverians, having effected a retreat, burned the bridge of boats down to the water's edge; and about 600 Dutch were left to pass over on a temporary flying bridge: these had nearly completed their passage, when a chance shot carried away a mast to which the hawser was attached, on which the bridge depended: it consequently swayed round, and was hurried by the current toward the town; while the troops on it suffered severely from an incessant fire before they could obtain a parley. After the fall of this grand fortress, the passage of the Waal could be no longer defended.

While the Dutch loudly reprobated the abandonment of so important a place by their allies,[9] and an opinion was spread in Holland that their cause was hopeless; the committee of public safety, guided by the enterprising genius of Carnot, pushed forward their troops to fresh conquests: accustomed to find all difficulties vanishing before republican energy, they resolved to prosecute their successes in the midst of a rigorous winter, and to render its very severity the means of overcoming the natural defences of the United Provinces.

Such, however, was the short-sighted policy of the States-General, that they imagined it possible for them to negotiate a separate peace, while the French were on the very eve of reaping the fruit of all their labors: notwithstanding treaties and obligations, Dutch ambassadors were sent to request that the ruling faction

[9] Without reason; for the duke of York had only 30,000 forces to oppose to 70,000, and the Rhine in his rear.

at Paris would grant them such terms as their known good *faith* and *generosity* should dictate: the convention cajoled these petitioners with delusive promises, and at the same time sent orders to their generals to pass the Waal, and force their way to Amsterdam; they depended on the disaffection of the people to accelerate this advance, more than the most formidable inundations could check it; in which opinion they were confirmed by frequent invitations sent from the principal towns, with promises of a cordial reception.[10]

Early in December, the duke of York, conceiving the campaign finished, set out for England, leaving to general Walmoden the perilous task of protecting a divided country with an inferior, defeated, and dispirited army: in the mean time, sickness among them increased with the increasing severity of the weather; and the total inattention at that time paid to the comfort of our suffering soldiers, now appears almost incredible.[11] Scarcely any accommodations were pre-

[10] 'One of those enterprising messengers from the disaffected patriots was discovered on the fourth of December, attempting to cross the Waal; and an address found on him, signed by 3000 of the principal inhabitants of Amsterdam, promising every effort to put that city into Pichegru's hands, and encouraging him to push forward without delay. This daring adventurer was apprehended by a Hanoverian officer, while he was endeavoring to strike a good bargain with a skipper, who demanded forty ducats to carry him over the river: the envoy imagined twenty a sufficient bribe, and lost his life in trying to save a paltry sum; so strongly is the love of gold engrafted on a Dutchman's disposition.'—Accurate and impartial Narrative, &c., vol. ii. p. 107.

[11] 'Abuses,' says the intelligent officer often quoted, 'unheard of in any former war, existed in almost every department; and our helpless countrymen were given up to the mercy of surgeons' mates, furnished by a cheap contract, and deputy commissioners, whose interest it was to deprive them of every shadow of enjoyment. The enormous sum of £40,000 had been drawn for, during this campaign, to supply the sick with wine; and such was the infamous behavour of the medical staff, that the surgeons and mates are very much belied indeed, if they were not, many of them, in the constant habit of robbing the sick, and applying that necessary article to their own use; preferring the pleasure of carousing over flagons of heady port, to the drudgery of alleviating the pangs of their miserable patients: so that when a soldier fell sick, and was ordered to the hospital, his comrades would exclaim, 'Ah, poor fellow! we shall see thee no more; for thou art under orders for the shambles.' When we consider how many brave men were thus sacrificed, and that from fifteen to twenty guineas bounty money was publicly offered for recruits; would it not have been even more economical in government to have employed Rush, Lind, and other respectable men, who offered their services at the commencement of the war, but which were deemed exorbitant; than to have imported, at so much per head, such numbers of inexperienced pretenders to science, who scarcely knew in which hand to hold a lancet, or in what manner to apply a tourniquet?'—p. 109. On the same authority, it is stated, with too much truth, 'that at this period, the catalogue of school-boys, who were promoted to the

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pared for the sick in the hospitals; where, so far from finding any thing to cover them, they could hardly obtain a scanty allowance even of straw: hundreds were found dead on the banks of rivers and canals, because no quarters could be procured for them in the towns: at the same time, the animosity of our Dutch allies had increased to such a degree, that a straggling Englishman became an object, not only of ill-treatment, but frequently of assassination. After several ineffectual attempts made by the French to cross the Waal, the hardest frost set in, about the middle of December, that had been remembered since the year 1739, when heavy cannon were transported on the ice over the Waal and the Rhine. General Walmoden, seeing the Meuse frozen in his front, while those two rivers were charged with floating ice in his rear, and justly fearing that the same cold which exposed his line to attack would render his retreat impracticable, moved his heavy cavalry to the other side of the Waal, evacuated his magazines and hospitals at Dwenter, and ordered the prince of Hesse Darmstadt to abandon the isle of Bommel, as soon as he should hear that the enemy had passed the Meuse.

At the end of December the French army crossed that river, making an irruption by concentrated forces against a cordon of posts: the result was, that the Dutch fled, some to Utrecht, and others to Gorcum, leaving sixty pieces of cannon and 1600 prisoners in the hands of the republicans: these latter even made themselves masters of several posts on the Waal, which stream they crossed; but as the ice did not yet permit the passage of heavy artillery, Pichegru withdrew his

rank of field officers over the heads of deserving old soldiers, was swelled out to an unprecedented size. Our army brokers carried on a most shameful and destructive traffic in the open face of day: in a few weeks they would advance any beardless youth, who could come up to their price, from one new-raised corps into another; and, for a farther douceur, by an exchange into an old regiment, would procure him a permanent station in the standing army; while they laughed to scorn the superannuated drudges, who had been braving the vicissitudes of climates long before these upstart chieftains were born.'—p. 92. The redress of these and a thousand other grievances, this nation owes to the admirable conduct of the late duke of York, when he became commander-in-chief: it is impossible to rate too highly the services which he rendered to his country, by the internal arrangements and domestic economy introduced into every department of the army.

forces again to the left bank: the right of the Dutch position was assailed with success, Breda was invested; and Grave capitulated after a long and honorable resistance.

Seeds of dissention now began to appear among the allied generals: Walmoden wished to concentrate his forces on the Waal, between Nimeguen and St. André, against the French who were making preparations to cross that river; but the prince of Orange insisted on moving the troops toward Gorcum, in order to cover the direct road to Amsterdam: thus thwarted in the only rational mode of carrying on the campaign, Walmoden resolved to abandon the United Provinces to their fate; and, with a view of securing his retreat to Hanover, he concentrated the English forces behind the Linge, and covered them on the left by the Austrian contingents.

The States-General, in despair, now made proposals of peace to the French government, offering to recognise the republic, and pay down 200,000,000 francs: but the committee of public safety, elated with success, and anxious to establish a revolutionary government in Holland, rejected these terms and ordered Pichegru instantly to invade the devoted country.

On the eighth of January, with 70,000 men, he crossed the Waal at various points; the capture of Thiel, by Moreau, facilitating his passage: this formidable host then attacked the remains of the British army, and compelled them, after a gallant resistance, to retreat. Without tents, and unable to procure cantonments, our unfortunate soldiers were obliged to pass the nights, during this tremendous winter, in the open tobacco-sheds, or under the canopy of an inclement sky: but what were these sufferings compared with those of the sick and wounded? Removed, as they were, in open waggons, and exposed to the intensity of the frost; frequently without any victuals till the army halted, and then only scantily supplied; littered down in cold churches on a short allowance of dirty straw, without the comfort of a single blanket;

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—it is no wonder they expired martyrs to this unpardonable neglect.

The situation of the stadtholder now became very critical: abandoned by Walmoden's army, unable with his own troops to make head against the republicans, and in daily expectation of a revolution, his only resource was expatriation: having therefore assembled the States-General, he avowed this resolution; recommended them to make a separate peace with the enemy; and embarked for Great Britain.

Meanwhile, the French generals paused in their career, anticipating the revolutionary movements which soon followed. Amsterdam led the way; where the magistrates resigned their authority, and democratic leaders were installed in their places: the tricolored flag was then displayed over the Hôtel de Ville, and the republican troops entered the city amid the boisterous acclamations of the populace: on the same day, the left wing of the army made themselves masters of Dordrecht, containing 600 pieces of cannon and 10,000 muskets, with an immense store of ammunition; thence it proceeded through Rotterdam to the Hague, where the States-General were assembled: at the same time, a body of cavalry and artillery crossed the Zuyder Zee on the ice, and took possession of the fleet which lay frozen up in the Texel; when the province of Zealand capitulated to the invaders, whose right wing, continuing its successes, obliged the English to abandon the line of the Issel: Friesland and Groningen were successively evacuated; and after a retreat, perhaps unequalled in the annals of military hardship, our exhausted troops arrived at Bremen; where, after a halt of some weeks, they embarked for England. On the twenty-seventh of January, the provisional representatives of the people of the United Provinces assembled; when a decree passed for abolishing the stadtholderate; and under the protection of France a new provisional government was established, for what was now denominated the Batavian republic.

Sweden and Denmark, happily removed by distance from such scenes as we have been contemplating, persevered in observing an impartial neutrality: a convention had been concluded between them on the twenty-seventh of March, by which they agreed to protect the freedom of northern commerce, on the principles of the armed neutrality of 1780; equipping jointly a fleet of sixteen sail of the line for that purpose: by its tenth article, the Baltic was declared to be a neutral sea, absolutely inaccessible to the armed vessels of the belligerent powers: the little state of Geneva, being completely under French influence, had its constitution new modelled with a great tendency to democracy; in consequence of which many emigrations took place.

With respect to Poland, its fate was sealed in this eventful year. The czarina, by her ambassador, having demanded that its army should be reduced to 16,000 men, the Poles clearly saw what would follow, and resolved once more to try the fate of arms: they required, however, a leader; and found one in the celebrated Kosciusko, who had learned the science of war under the immortal Washington. The Russians, proceeding still farther in their demands, required possession of the arsenal of Warsaw; and were preparing to seize it, when Kosciusko, advancing, defeated their forces in the field, while the citizens of Warsaw rose and drove them from the capital: soon afterwards, the Prussian troops, which had quailed in honorable warfare, took up the trade of brigands with great spirit; and having defeated Kosciusko, joined the Russians for the investment of Warsaw: being, however, called off by an insurrection in South Prussia, the Austrians next appeared on the frontiers; and the Polish army being weakened to oppose them, Kosciusko was defeated by the Russians, wounded, and taken prisoner: Suwarrow, on the refusal of the king to surrender the capital, led up his army, stormed it, and with his usual brutality gave orders to allow no quarter. Poland was now partitioned between the plunderers, and ceased to be a kingdom; the patriots

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being proscribed, their property confiscated, and Stanislaus ordered into Russia, where he spent the remainder of his days in captivity. Such was the display of the great antagonistic principle, now arrayed against the democratic spirit of France: but however we may lament the example of base and deliberate spoliation, or compassionate the miseries of wretched Poland, and detest its plunderers, we must confess, with an eminent writer, 'that she fell the victim of her own dissentions; of the chimera of equality insanely pursued, and the rigor of aristocracy unceasingly maintained; of extravagant jealousy of every superior, and merciless oppression of every inferior rank. The eldest born of the European family was the first to perish, because she had thwarted all the ends of social union; because she had united the turbulence of democratic to the exclusiveness of aristocratical societies; because she had the vacillation of a republic without its energy, and the oppression of a monarchy without its stability. Such a system neither could nor ought to be maintained: the internal feuds of Poland were more fatal to human happiness than the despotism of Russia; and the growth of improvement among its people was as slow as among the ryots of Hindostan.'[12]

Meeting of parliament.

The British parliament assembled on the thirtieth of December; and in the speech from the throne, while the disasters of the late campaign were admitted, the necessity of persisting in the war was strongly urged; additional efforts and increased vigor being represented as the only possible means of producing successful results. An official intimation was also given of the intended marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick; and the commons were requested to make provision for such an establishment, as they might think suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent. The celebrated diplomatist lord Malmsbury had received the king's orders to proceed to Brunswick and ask the hand of the princess: in most of his

[12] Alison, vol. ii. p. 475.

diplomatic attempts his lordship had eminently failed; but here he was ominously successful. According to his own account, he found the princess in manners, temper, and morals, contrary to all that he could have wished, but he had received no discretionary powers; so he concluded a contract which held not out the slightest hope of happiness; and was never forgiven by the prince. Certainly never was a business so mismanaged as this marriage: overwhelmed with debts and embarrassed by connexions, the prince of Wales demanded leave to travel: it was the only thing that might have recovered him, by creating other tastes beside those of English dissipation, by curtailing his expenses, by enabling him to see other European princesses, as well as one for whom aversion was so likely to arise: but against this more rational scheme the king was obstinately bent; and both their majesties were anxious to promote an ill-fated union which brought so much trouble on the prince, on themselves, and on the nation.

The address, in answer to the king's speech, was seconded by Mr. Canning; who, having in a former session maintained, that monarchy was essential to the peace of every country in Europe, and that there could be no tranquillity for the continent or Great Britain while the government of France continued republican;—was a fit organ of the minister in upholding an address which inculcated the same principle. After defending his majesty's government against every imputation of the calamities and disasters of the war being the result of its ignorance and mismanagement, he as usual opened his fire on the opposition; but, in ridiculing their warnings and predictions, he observed, 'It was true, they had foretold the desertion of our allies, as well as the astonishing exertions of the enemy; and he could not but confess, that such was, unfortunately, the result: it was, however, no difficult matter to prophesy disappointment and ill success; if the prediction proved false, gentlemen would feel too much satisfaction in the success of their country to think of the prediction; if it proved true, those who

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made it would triumph, as they would certainly feel some satisfaction in their superior sagacity.' When he thus gave credit to the opposition for their predictions, he claimed also some credit for those on his own side of the question; for when jacobinism was at its greatest height, when its influence circulated through every part of the French government, and when Robespierre ruled with absolute sway; even then its fall was foretold in that house, and happily with truth: he wished, however, not to be misunderstood; he did not mean, that by the accession of moderates to the sovereign power in France, the possibility of our treating with them had become greater; because the only difference between them and jacobins was, that they professed the intentions, though they had not the power of the latter: their hostility to this country was equal to that of the jacobins; and the house would have an opportunity of judging what reliance could be placed on their moderation, by the terms they would give to the Dutch, who were not instigators of the war, but compelled to join in it; and if the terms they gave to the Dutch were hard, what might this country expect? If we could even have a peace now with France, it would be an insecure one: it must be a peace, with all the inconveniences and expenses of a war establishment; such a peace as this country would never assent to.

Mr. Pitt was this evening not a little mortified at the defection of Mr. Wilberforce, who had hitherto supported all the measures of administration, but who now expressed himself as alarmed at the terrible doctrines which had been promulgated from the throne, and reiterated from the ministerial side of the house. A perpetual war, which could only cease with the restoration of the French monarchy, or with a total ruin of our own country, was to him a startling proposition, calculated to shock his principles and appal his feelings: he deprecated both the speech and the address; and observed of Mr. Canning, that, 'hurried away by his eloquence, he had made assertions which it was impossible to maintain, and had asked questions

which it was unfortunately but too easy to answer:' he then took an extensive view of the comparative state of both countries, after a long and sanguinary conflict, in which both had been sufferers in no ordinary degree; and concluded with moving an amendment to the address.

The manner in which this amendment was supported, and the sentiments uttered by many who were supposed to be adherents of the minister, deeply wounded the pride of Mr. Pitt, who was unable to conceal his displeasure and chagrin: he rose early in the debate, and addressed himself earnestly and pathetically to the new opposition. 'The reasons,' he observed, 'that have induced gentlemen to dissent from the prosecution of this war, seem to have had considerable influence on the manner in which they speak of its justice and necessity at the commencement; and their language is fainter and feebler than I had reason to expect. Contending, as these gentlemen and I did, against a new and monstrous system of cruelty, anarchy, and impiety, against those whose principles trampled on civilised society, religion, and law; contending, I say, against such a system,—I could not have entertained the slightest expectation, that from them would have proceeded such an amendment. It has pleased an inscrutable Providence, that this power of France should trample over every thing that has been opposed to it; but let us not therefore fall without making any efforts to resist it; let us not sink without measuring its strength.' Notwithstanding this defection from his ranks, the sentiments of Mr. Pitt prevailed; and the address was carried by a large majority.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1795.

Annexation of Holland to France, and change of relations among European states—Separate peace made by Prussia, and neutrality of the northern states of Germany—Peace made by Spain and Tuscany—State of France—State of England as a principal in the coalition, &c.—Different sentiments of opposition and ministerial members in the British parliament respecting peace—Sentiments of Mr. Burke—Bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act continued—Subsidy to Austria—Supplies, &c.—Mr. Pitt's plan to man the navy—Mr. Windham's militia bill—Addition made to soldier's pay without the knowlege of parliament—Slave trade—Termination of Mr. Hastings's trial—Motion for inquiry into the state of the nation, rejected—Marriage of the prince of Wales—Settlement made by parliament, &c.—Affairs of Ireland—Recall of earl Fitzwilliam—Earl Camden viceroy—Establishment of Maynooth-college—Progress of revolutionary principles—Insurrection act—Formation of Orange societies—Institution of armed yeomanry—Intercourse of united Irishmen with the French directory—Naval affairs in the Mediterranean—Campaign of the Alps—Victory of Loano—Affairs of La Vendée—Armies on the Rhine, &c. under Moreau, Jourdan, and Pichegru—Military transactions—Negotiation between the prince de Condé and Pichegru—Fortune turns in favor of the Austrians—Suspension of arms—Affairs of the French government at Paris, and the formation of a new constitution—Revolt of the sections suppressed by Napoleon Bonaparte—Establishment of the directory—Bonaparte made general of the army of the interior—His marriage, &c.—State of the public mind in England—Early opening of the session of parliament—Attack on his majesty's life—Proceedings consequent on it—Bills to prevent seditious meetings—Hostilities commenced against the Dutch—Efforts made by the French to recover their West Indian possessions—Critical state of the country on account of the scarcity of corn—Army, navy, and supplies, &c.—Opinions respecting the war—King's message respecting a pacification—Discussions on it, and the state of the nation, &c.—Birth of the princess Charlotte—Separation of her parents, &c.—Riotous conduct of the populace—Daniel Eaton—Views of the

king, Mr. Pitt, &c. confirmed by the returns at the general election—Nature of the government—Vigorous preparations for war—Burke's 'Letters on a Regicide Peace'—His views of the war.

Changes on the continent.

WHO, when he saw the ancient majesty and power of Europe, all that was splendid in fame or venerable in establishment, arrayed against a single nation, could have divined that discomfiture and disgrace was to be the portion of such a coalition? yet this was the case: the conquest of Holland, and its annexation to France, secured to this latter country possession of Belgium, and excluded the British arms from the continent; whilst it totally changed the situation of Prussia and the north of Germany. A treaty of amity was concluded between the French and Batavian republics, on the sixteenth of May, the principal conditions of which were, the payment of one hundred millions of guilders by the latter; the relinquishment of Dutch Flanders in consideration of future compensation; and the use in common of the harbor of Vlissengen: add to this, the Dutch bound themselves to aid the French with twelve ships of the line and eighteen frigates, as well as with half the troops which they had under arms. Nothing in the mean time had proved able to eradicate the mutual distrust between Austria and Prussia, cherished as it had been for half a century; beside which, an unaccountable exhaustion of Prussian finances had taken place: not more than a fourth of her army could be brought into the field; and subsidies were sought from England apparently for the sake of the money, not of the war. Thus weakened, and left unprotected against the attack of France, Prussia, instead of rousing herself to effect a sincere and active coalition, concluded a separate treaty at Basle on the fifth of April, leaving France in possession of her provinces on the left bank of the Rhine; while a line of demarcation was at the same time fixed for the neutrality of Hanover and the northern states of Germany: thus half the empire was withdrawn from the confederacy, and Austria was left to contend single-handed with her antagonist: the battle of

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Jena and the treaty of Tilsit were the consequences of this defection.

Meanwhile, a union for mutual defence was formed; and a grand confederacy, such as Frederic the Great had contemplated, having Prussia for a centre, might have been effected: but how was confidence to exist after the last dismemberment of Poland; or when the secret compact transpired, that Prussia was to be indemnified for her sacrifices at the expense of her fellow states?[1]

Another ally soon afterwards seceded from the coalition. The Spaniards, defeated both in Biscay and Catalonia, sued for peace, which was conceded to them also at Basle in July; France restoring all her conquests, and receiving the Spanish portion of St. Domingo as a compensation: even previously to the treaty with Prussia, the convention had concluded peace with the grand duke of Tuscany; and the Piedmontese, driven over the summit of the Alps, were trembling for their Italian possessions. From a state of the deepest depression, France had passed at once to triumphs greater than had ever graced the proudest period of Louis XIV.: by sparing neither blood nor treasure to accomplish its objects; by bringing up column after column to the attack, with a merciless prodigality of life; by unscrupulously drawing on the wealth of one half of the nation in confiscations, and of the other in assignats, the committee of public safety had produced a force which was, for a time, irresistible: the revolutionary fever too was still ardent; and 1,500,000 men were in arms to conquer for the republic, whose frontiers were surrounded by an impregnable barrier of fortified towns.

But the half-ruined coalition was not yet wholly to be dissolved: the continuance of a continental war was important to England; and it was prosecuted at her cost in every country. Who did not solicit money? and who did not obtain it? Posterity will scarcely credit the amount of loans raised, and burdens cast

[1] By secularisation in Munster and elsewhere according to convenience and agreement; for Orange in Wurzburg and Bamburg.—Heeren, vol. ii. p. 187.

on the people; which nothing could have enabled them to sustain but a vast and rapid increase of income arising from foreign trade: to promote this, by excluding others from its advantages, was a main object of ministerial exertion; and England's grand support was external commerce, embracing every quarter of the globe: so this war of the revolution took a commercial as well as an anti-revolutionary character; the dominion of the seas, and the conquest of hostile colonies, being the sole conditions under which the British system could be maintained.

After the secession of Holland, Prussia, and Spain, England redoubled her exertions to keep up a continental coalition. Austria required nothing but money: she had suffered too much by her losses in the Low Countries to permit her thinking of peace; while her disasters were not yet so great, as to compel her to renounce all hope of repairing them: no sanguinary contests, such as signalised the latter part of this war, had as yet taken place; for scarcely had a victory been won at the expense of 6000 men to the vanquished. Early in the year, an alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, and Russia; but the first step toward that decisive interference in the contest, which was ultimately taken by the autocrat of the north, was not productive of any important results: the czarina, whose attention was engrossed by her unjust acquisitions in Poland, merely sent a fleet of twelve ships of the line and eight frigates to join admiral Duncan, who was blockading the squadron which France had recently acquired from the Dutch republic.

State of parties in Great Britain.

Many were the motions brought forward in the British parliament, during the present session, by members of opposition, recommending peace with France: the government of that country was represented as no longer revolutionary, but as one which both professed and practised moderation: thus, it was said, the great object of the war was gained; while the continued disasters of the allies proved the impossibility of forcing on France a government contrary to

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the inclinations of its people; and if we continued fighting for the restoration of the Bourbons, no end appeared to the contest: nevertheless, the sentiments of ministers prevailed, whose objections to peace began to rest more and more on arguments drawn from the internal constitution of France: though they did not directly fix on the restoration of monarchy as a condition of peace; yet, professing to make war for the sake of security, they plainly intimated that no other means of security existed: they chiefly contended, however, that the French government was changed in form only, not in spirit; that its hatred to this country was irreconcilable; that its principal motive for making separate treaties with other nations was, to gain a power of turning its whole force against Great Britain; and that to acknowlege the legitimacy of such an institution, which must be done in the case of negotiations for peace, would be to declare all other governments founded on principles of injustice; would be not only to disgrace, but to ruin our own. It was also argued, that the losses of the French had been greater than all those of the allies put together; that their forced requisitions could not be kept up without severities like those of the reign of terror; and that now was the time, by vigorous means, to compel their government to augment its redundant paper currency, which would soon complete the ruin of its financial resources.

Parliament, notwithstanding the unfortunate results of our interference, and the existence of a large mass of discontent, was favorable to a continuation of the contest; but if we are to judge from the private correspondence of the great organ of the war faction, we shall conclude that very gloomy presentiments possessed the minds of those who appeared to be most strenuous for it, and most sanguine as to its consequences. It is thus that Mr. Burke writes, on the sixth of February, to Mr. Wilmot, manager of subscriptions for the relief of the French emigrants:— 'It seems decided that some great change is to take place in human affairs: the only thing which appears to me consolatory, is the magnanimity of the king and

the two houses: we have still, and so have some other nations, resources enough, if we have the spirit and the skill to use them. If I thought, that they who find no resource but in submission to a cruel and implacable, and now the most powerful enemy that this country ever had, acted only from pusillanimity, we might have hopes that necessity would generate courage; but I know that they are of another character; men bold and confident in the extreme: when, therefore, I see the bold playing the part of the feeble and pusillanimous, I do not consider them as shrinking from an enemy, but as acting in his favor: this is very alarming; and the more so, as, for the first time in our struggle with France, whatever form it might appear in, its dangerous power and extravagant ambition has disarmed our councils and weakened our efforts: but I still praise the wisdom and spirit of those who resist the great dangers that environ us both from without and from within; and God may, while these dissentions last, raise up *some great military character* to save us.'[2]

Proceedings in parliament.

Arguments, for the attainment of peace, were repeatedly brought forward during the session;[3] but the pacific propositions founded on them were successively negatived. In lieu of a conciliatory proposal made by the duke of Bedford, lord Grenville successfully moved, that a vigorous prosecution of the war would be the most effectual method of procuring a solid and permanent peace.

Such being the sentiments of our legislature, the attorney-general, on the fifteenth of January, brought in a bill to continue the suspension of the habeas corpus act for a limited time; and it passed both houses, with a protest in that of the lords, signed by the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the earls of Lauderdale and Guilford. A motion for repeal of the suspension bill had been previously made by Sheridan, on the fifth of January, on the ground of its own pre-

[2] Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 541.

[3] By lord Stanhope on the sixth of January, by Mr. Grey on the twenty-sixth of February, by the duke of Bedford on the twenty-seventh of February, and by Mr. Wilberforce on the twenty-seventh of May.

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amble, which stated that a dangerous and treasonable conspiracy existed in this country; whilst a verdict in court had shown this conspiracy to have been a mere fabrication: no treason had been brought to light; the alleged ground of the suspension did not exist; therefore the suspension, which in fact suspended the whole constitution of the realm, was unnecessary. Mr. Windham, who had imbibed all Burke's notions regarding the present contest, maintained that the favorable verdicts in the late trials arose from the ignorance and incapacity of juries to discern the true state of the case: the real object, he observed, of the societies in question was to overturn our constitution; and the principles imported from France would produce the worst effects, unless they were opposed with the strictest vigilance: the determination of a jury was no proof of the non-existence of a conspiracy: guilty persons were often acquitted in courts of justice, not because they were considered innocent, but merely because there was no strictly legal evidence to confirm the truth: a doubt of their guilt, in the breasts of the jury, was sufficient to free them from punishment, but not to clear their character: the verdict in their favor could not therefore operate as a motive for repealing the act, even if it were admitted that their indictment for high treason had not been supported by legal proofs; but if the judicious and unbiassed public looked on them as guilty of an attempt, for which the law had not duly provided, it became the duty of parliament to make such provision.

Mr. Pitt having delivered to the house of commons a message from the king, regarding a loan of £4,600,000 to aid the exertions of his imperial majesty in the ensuing campaign, and to be advanced on the credit of his hereditary dominions,—a considerable discussion arose; in the course of which, Mr. Fox said, that the recent defection of Prussia, immediately after pocketing our gold, ought to operate as a caution against all advances to German princes; nor had he any confidence in the efficacy of the proposed loan: sir William Pulteney, on the contrary, entertained a

very different opinion of its probable utility. Lord Grenville, in the upper house, had so much reliance on the promised exertions of his imperial majesty, that he would rather consent to make him a present of the desired sum, than lose the chance of his co-operation; while the marquis of Lansdowne argued strongly against any connexion with Germany: the proposition was agreed to by large majorities.

On the twenty-third of February the minister submitted his annual statement of supplies, as well as ways and means, to the consideration of the house. The number of men required for the present year was 85,000 seamen and 15,000 marines; 120,000 regulars, 66,000 militia, and 40,000 men, partly for Ireland, and partly for the plantations; beside fencibles and volunteers, foreign troops in British pay, and embodied emigrants: the sum demanded to maintain these forces, with the ordnance and extraordinaries, amounted to £27,540,000; and the loan proposed was £18,000,000; being the largest voted by parliament up to this period. New taxes were imposed on wine, spirits, tea, coffee, insurances, hair-powder, &c.; which, with an abridgment of the privilege of franking, were estimated to produce £1,644,000; of which £357,000 were to be applied to the progressive reduction of our national debt: as a counterpoise to these additional burdens, the minister mentioned, in terms of high satisfaction, the unexampled increase of our commerce in the preceding year. The loan, having been raised by private contract, and not by open competition, was severely censured: the terms were alleged to be at least five per cent. more favorable than was necessary to the contractors.

As it became expedient to devise some speedy and effectual method to levy soldiers and sailors, Mr. Pitt brought forward a new plan for manning our navy, without throwing the burden so heavily on a particular class of the community by press warrants. As the owners of merchantmen were most interested in maintaining our naval superiority, he proposed that each ship, on clearing out, should furnish a certain

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number of men, according to its tonnage; with a smaller proportion from the coasting trade, and some from those employed in our inland navigation: beside which, every parish in the kingdom should furnish one man: after a few modifications, this proposition passed into a law, and officers were appointed to superintend the levies. Mr. Windham, as secretary at war, reviewed our means of internal defence, and carried a proposition for improving the discipline and augmenting the numbers of the militia: this however was opposed by Fox and Sheridan, as tending to increase the influence of ministers, and as preparatory to the establishment of arbitrary power. The season had been remarkable for scarcity and dearth: the price of provisions was so high, that the pay of the soldiers was wholly insufficient; and government, without applying to parliament, had granted them an extraordinary allowance: humane and necessary as this measure was, it was represented as inexcusable while parliament was sitting; and a resolution was proposed, declaring it illegal to augment the pay of the army without the consent of the legislature. Ministers, however, defended the measure, as merely temporary, and the result of necessity: after a warm discussion, which embraced many constitutional topics, the motion was negatived.

On the twenty-sixth of February, Mr. Wilberforce brought again before the house of commons the subject of the slave trade, by a proposition for its final abolition: it was opposed, as before, by the West Indian interest; and on a division, the motion was postponed for six months by a majority of seventeen. The trial of Mr. Hastings terminated this year, on the twenty-third of April, after the public interest in it had been diminished by its prolongation, and at length superseded by other subjects of overwhelming importance: only twenty-nine peers assembled at the final judgment; to each of whom every one of the sixteen articles was put separately, with the question of guilty or not guilty: the general result was, that on two charges he was unanimously acquitted; with respect to the

others, votes varied from three to six 'guilty,' against the remainder 'not guilty:' the lord chancellor then pronounced him acquitted of all the charges; on which, the ex-governor bowed to the court, and retired in silence from its bar. The public appeared generally satisfied with the result of the trial; though few were found who did not think it necessary, in order to clear the honor of the nation, and prove to the oppressed inhabitants of India that in England they would still find avengers of their wrongs.

It can be no more denied that certain portions of the conduct of this eminent statesman were inconsistent with the rules of British justice, and the sentiments of humanity; than that his political abilities secured the authority, and established the dominion of this country over the East. Conscious of the immense advantages they had derived from his exertions, the East India company discharged the costs of his trial, amounting to upwards of £70,000: they also voted a pecuniary donation, to remove from indigence so illustrious a servant, who had confessedly attended more to their interests than to his own.

Perceiving that ministers, and a great majority in parliament, were totally averse to reconciliation with France, the opposition determined at once to try its strength, by a motion for inquiry into the state of the nation; and the management of this momentous question was entrusted to Mr. Fox, who moved for a committee on the twenty-fourth of March: his introductory speech on this occasion was one of transcendent ability, and characterised by his illustrious opponent, as 'among the most eloquent ever delivered in that house.' After showing the necessity that existed for inquiry, in the rapid progress of the enemy, and their acquired superiority; in the losses sustained by our armies; in our vast expenditure and increased taxation, as well as in the useless subsidies which we scattered abroad with so much prodigality; he turned attention to the affairs of Ireland, the recall of its lord lieutenant which had lately taken place, and the general irritation of its inhabitants: he alluded also to the dissatisfaction

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prevalent in England, where an opinion was gaining ground, that the commons could not fairly represent the nation, from their undeviating compliance with every measure proposed by ministers, notwithstanding all their ill conduct in the prosecution of the war. What, he asked, were the grounds for such extraordinary confidence in men, whose schemes continually miscarried? Even supposing the war had been just, which question he was not now canvassing, did the succession of plans and series of events afford any reason for unlimited confidence in his majesty's present counsellors, as wise, energetic, and effective war ministers? If they really deserved confidence, they would not resist inquiry: men who dreaded a scrutiny into their conduct, afforded a strong presumption that it would not bear examination: no man, conscious of the able and upright discharge of his duty, would flinch from any investigation into his actions.

Mr. Pitt objected to inquiry on the extensive plan proposed, as being incompatible with other parliamentary business: part of the proposer's objects also were inexpedient and unreasonable; he had exaggerated our losses, detracted from our advantages, and exhibited on the whole an unfair statement of our situation. The condition of Ireland, which Fox had made only a collateral subject of discussion, Pitt treated as if it had been introduced as a point of fundamental importance; directing to its agitation the greater part of his argument and declamation: Mr. Canning followed his patron in the same strain; but adroitly avoided all recognition of those principles, of which he was afterwards so distinguished an advocate. The question of Roman-catholic emancipation, said he, as far as he could judge from report, appeared to be intimately connected with the present situation of Irish affairs, and to involve in it the justification or condemnation of one or other of his majesty's ministers: whichever it might be that in the end should appear culpable or innocent, how difficult would it be to come to any conclusion on their conduct, without advancing by the way some declaration of opinion on the catholic ques-

ion! and whatever that opinion might be, how could a member of the British house of commons consent to legrade it to a mere debating club, deliberating and leciding without effect? or what friend of Irish independence could tamely suffer a vote of parliament to anticipate the judgment, and dictate the decision, of the Irish legislature, on a subject so nearly and exclusively connected with the rights and interests of his country?

It was replied by Messrs. Sheridan and Fox, that the minister, instead of meeting, had only shifted the question; that if Mr. Fox had misrepresented the state of the country, the means of refuting him lay not in mere assertions of the party accused, but in a fair investigation of conduct: their arguments, however, had no weight with the majority of the house: credit was given to ministers on their claims to confidence, and the motion was rejected; as also was a similar proposition, brought forward by lord Guildford in the house of peers: specific motions were afterwards made in both houses for inquiry respecting Irish affairs, but with as little success.

Marriage of the prince of Wales.

In April the princess Caroline of Brunswick arrived in England, and was received with every mark of distinction due to her birth and contracted alliance: on the eighth the inauspicious nuptials were celebrated; whilst it was generally understood that his royal highness was influenced in forming this connexion by the promise of an ample provision to pay his enormous debts, which now amounted to more than £600,000: this is no more than probable from his known attachment at the time to Mrs. Fitzherbert, with whom, it was stated, the marriage ceremony, though invalid by law, had taken place. On the twenty-seventh of April, the king, who was in a very unpleasant dilemma, from having declared, in 1787, that no further debts should be incurred by the prince, sent a message to the house, announcing his marriage; and at the same time expressing deep regret in being obliged to declare, that the benefit of any settlement which might then be made, could not be effectually

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secured to his royal highness, except he were provided with the means of liberating himself from the large encumbrances to which he was liable: his majesty, however, disclaimed all idea of proposing that parliament should make any specific provision for that object; and he earnestly requested the house to take into consideration the propriety of providing for the gradual discharge of those encumbrances, by a temporary reservation of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, as well as of a proportion of the prince's annual income.

After some discussion, the house determined to settle on his royal highness an income of £125,000; together with the revenue of the duchy, estimated at £13,000; of which £75,000 annually should be applied to the liquidation of his debts; and that a law should be passed to prevent the heir-apparent, in future, from being involved in similar difficulties; a jointure also of £50,000 per annum was settled on the princess, in case she survived her royal consort: the discussion of this question, however, created great dissatisfaction in the nation at large; and much indiscriminate censure was cast both on the king and the queen. Events will testify, that the period in which such additional burdens were imposed on the people, was, of all others, most dangerous to monarchical interests; and that they tended to increase the disaffection and disloyalty which began to appear in a large portion of the community.

Review of Ireland.

Allusion has been already made to the affairs of Ireland, which formed a very important subject of consideration during the present session. The bill of 1793, so much desired by the catholics, had not had the desired effect in conciliating the people, or stopping the progress of the united Irishmen; for early in the following year they published a plan of equal representation, on the principle of universal suffrage; and before its conclusion their association became secret, and decidedly revolutionary; so that the interposition of government was loudly called for. A charge of treasonable correspondence with the French rulers

was brought against Archibald Hamilton Rowan, who had been already found guilty, and was suffering imprisonment, for circulating the manifesto; but before he could be brought to trial, he effected his escape from jail, and fled to the continent: thither he was followed by the celebrated democrat, James Napper Tandy, who had given bail to stand his trial at Dundalk; and by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a lawyer of talent, and principal framer of the society of united Irishmen: Rowan was supposed to be implicated in treasonable correspondence with the Rev. William Jackson, a protestant clergyman, who was tried next year and found guilty; but who expired at the bar of the court, after swallowing a dose of poison, to avoid the shame of a public execution. All these circumstances tended to show that there was very little probability of pacifying Ireland by means of catholic emancipation: earl Fitzwilliam, however, its present lord-lieutenant, thought otherwise, and determined to try the efficacy of that measure; which, as he afterwards declared,[4] he was authorized to carry into effect when he accepted the office of viceroy: according, therefore, to the supposed spirit of his instructions, he commenced, by removing from their places, but with suitable compensations, such servants of government as were averse to his proceedings; among whom was the right hon. John Beresford, first commissioner of the revenue; whose family, always inimical to the catholic claims, had ever been most ardent in support of ministerial measures. The steps taken for accelerating emancipation passed without any animadversion; but the dismissal of Mr. Beresford and his adherents gave great offence to the English cabinet; and as the lord-lieutenant refused to alter his arrangements, they determined to recall him: in the mean time, a bill had been brought into the Irish house of commons, by Mr. Henry Grattan, to repeal all the remaining disqualifications of Romanists; and received so favorably, that only three dissentient voices were heard against it: accordingly, when the lord-lieutenant's

[4] See his letter to lord Carlisle.

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recall was rumored abroad, a deputation from the catholic body was despatched with a petition to the king, deprecating the removal of a viceroy, whose popularity was so great, that through it the extraordinary supply of £1,700,000 had been voted without any opposition. The deputies were very graciously received, but the object of their mission was not accomplished; for on the twenty-fifth of March earl Fitzwilliam resigned his vice-regal government, leaving behind him sincere regret among the Irish people: when he arrived in England, he made his appearance in the house of lords, and challenged ministers to show how his measures deserved that censure which their conduct seemed to imply; they, however, contended that no blame was cast on his lordship, and therefore no inquiry was necessary for his vindication; whilst important reasons of state rendered the discussion of Irish affairs altogether improper; the motions made in both houses for an investigation were accordingly rejected.

The administration of lord Camden successor to the popular earl Fitzwilliam, had an ominous commencement; for on the thirty-first of March, when he was sworn into office, a mob violently assaulted the primate, and lord chancellor Fitzgibbon, on their return from the castle; wounding the latter, with a stone, on the head. He was particularly obnoxious to the lower orders from his strenuous opposition to complete emancipation; a bill for which was brought forward on the fourth of May, and, after a violent debate protracted through the night, was rejected by a large majority; in compliance, however, with a memorial from the catholic prelates, addressed in the preceding year to the earl of Westmorland, a motion was carried this session, to establish a college at Maynooth, for the education of young Irishmen destined for the priesthood, but precluded from studying in foreign universities by the disordered state of the continent: £40,000 was voted in the first instance; and, for its support, an annual grant of £8,000 has been brought before parliament, in every successive session; a pitiful sum,

and totally inadequate to effect the advantages contemplated by this measure: indeed its ill effects in the degradation of the catholic clergy, and the oppression by them of the miserable people, were probably not foreseen; but they have been incalculable; and probably the strongest of all barriers against the improvement of Ireland: previous to this establishment at Maynooth, the catholics had obtained permission to study at the university of Dublin.

Such indulgences, however, were not sufficient to satisfy them: *defenders* increased in numbers, and began to assume a very menacing attitude: their bands, however, included only the lower classes; but the united Irishmen began, at this time, to form a new system, combining malcontents of every class, and of all religious persuasions against the government. Each admitted member took an oath of secresy; and though reform in parliament was still the avowed object of association, yet the words of the test were altered; and, the very name of parliament being omitted, 'a full and adequate representation of the people of Ireland' was the form now substituted: its object was to draw reformers into a combination with republicans, which latter entertained hopes of assistance in their schemes from the French government: toward the end of the year, discontent and disaffection became so general, that the existing laws were deemed insufficient to repress popular violence; in consequence, a measure, which nothing but strong necessity could justify, was put into practice in the western counties; the magistrates there were accustomed to assemble, at the requisition of lord Carhampton, who held a military command; and, after examining charges against persons confined in jail, as defenders, or otherwise engaged in illegal practices, they would send those who appeared most guilty to serve on board the fleet; and these orders his lordship undertook to see executed. His conduct was as much applauded by government as condemned by opposition; and subsequently a bill of indemnity was carried to secure the magistrates from danger. In the next session of parliament, which

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commenced in January, an act was passed, legally investing the magistrates with that power which a portion of them had assumed: this was termed the insurrection act; authorising the lord-lieutenant and council, on a petition from seven magistrates of any county assembled at a sessions of the peace, to proclaim that county, or any district of it, in a state of disturbance; and giving the magistrates authority to search for arms, and treat as culprits, all persons, who, without sufficient excuse, should be discovered out of their houses at unseasonable hours: they might also seize on such as could not render a satisfactory account of themselves; and, in default of bail, send them on board the fleet: it is also enacted that the administering of treasonable oaths was a capital offence; and that in case a witness was murdered, as frequently happened, before a trial, his written testimony should be considered as evidence: in October, a suspension of the habeas corpus act took place; which enabled the agents of government to imprison obnoxious or suspected persons, without any cause assigned, or any time of trial appointed.

While such measures of security were taken against the disaffected Irish, a body of men combined together, with a professed purpose of assisting government; though their real object was a general persecution and proscription of the Romanists. Hostile conflicts, occasioned by religious animosities, having long continued between peep-of-day boys and defenders, the former, being joined toward the end of 1795 by some other protestants, took the name of Orangemen, and formed an association in the county of Armagh, with a grand master and his deputy,[5] who turned out to be men of the most hardened and abandoned character. Under their directions, these Orangemen sacked and pillaged the houses of their opponents by night, under the pretence of searching for arms; posting up notices, which ordered them 'to go to hell or Connaught;' and

[5] This miscreant, of the name of Trimble, was tried and condemned for murder at Armagh; but his threat of letting out secrets, implicating higher characters, saved him from execution; his sentence was commuted to transportation; but he was rescued from jail, and conccaled on board the fleet.

threatening severe punishment in case of disobedience, which they took care to inflict. In their encounters, they generally had the victory by reason of superior discipline; for many of them had been volunteers; so that in the end they succeeded in expelling several thousands of catholics from the county: during the latter part of 1795, and the beginning of next year, the roads leading from the city of Armagh, presented many heart-rending scenes, in groups of miserable families endeavoring to escape from the iron rod of persecution, toward the south and western districts. Lord Gosford, governor of the county, convened the magistrates for the purpose of putting an end to what he designated 'a persecution accompanied by all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty that ever distinguished such a calamity; in which neither age, nor sex, nor even acknowleged innocence as to any crime, was sufficient to excite mercy or afford protection;' but his laudable efforts were not seconded by the magistrates, who had strongly imbibed the spirit of faction; and they remained deaf to his lordship's insinuation, 'that impartial justice had disappeared from the county.'[6]

An association, composed on different principles, and calculated to be extensively useful, had its commencement this year; when government began to embody an armed yeomanry to assist the regular troops and militia. Great opposition was made by the disloyal part of the country to the establishment of this force; but it was carried into effect; and in the course of six months amounted to 37,000 men, still increasing, and proving themselves, by their activity, courage, and loyalty, in times of extreme peril, worthy of the confidence reposed in them: during such preparations, however, the leaders of united Irishmen were not inactive; but in the summer of 1795, they entered into negotiation with the French republic,

[6] These atrocious associations must not be confounded with the Orange societies afterwards formed by persons of more respectable character and connexions: although we have lately seen the danger arising from such party confederacies, from the extraordinary exposure of Orange practices, by a parliamentary committee in the session of 1835.

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respecting a separation from the British government: in January, 1796, their messenger returned with a favorable answer; and in the summer of the same year, a plan of invasion was settled at an interview, which took place on the French frontier, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and general Hoche. These preparations, during the autumn, were the subject of familiar conversation, both in England and Ireland; but the British cabinet, either doubting or disregarding the intelligence, neglected to take suitable measures of defence.

Naval affairs in the Mediterranean.

During the winter of 1794, the French government made great exertions to put their navy on a respectable footing; but all their efforts on the ocean led only to disaster; though nothing but extraordinary bravery in our seamen, and the accidental employment of able officers, preserved the British from being the suffering party. In the spring of this year 32 sail of the line, and several frigates, put to sea from Brest, being followed by Lord Howe, with the channel fleet of 39 sail of the line, two of 50 guns, two of 44, and 19 frigates; out of which he had to provide many convoys for our traders. He soon learned, however, that the French had sustained such damage in a heavy gale, in which the unfortunate *Revolutionaire* foundered, as to compel their return into harbor: this able commander then returned to Spithead, after looking into Brest, to assure himself that the enemy's fleet was not at sea, and finally struck that flag under which he had rendered so many services to his country. Early in March the Toulon squadron, consisting of seventeen ships of the line, put to sea, with a design of expelling the English from the gulf of Genoa, and landing troops in Corsica: not being aware of this intention, admiral Hotham, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet, was at Leghorn; and the enemy succeeded in capturing the Berwick, of seventy-four guns, which found itself suddenly surrounded by the enemy. On the seventh of March, however, the British admiral set sail with thirteen ships of the line, half-manned, and one Neapolitan seventy-four; but he had

vith him the gallant Nelson, and that more than compensated all deficiencies. A partial engagement ensued, in which the ça-Ira and the Censeur fell into the ıands of the British, principally through the admirable ɔnduct of Nelson in the Agamemnon; and then was een, strikingly displayed, the difference between an fficer of the old school, who had been long laid by on he peace establishment, and one of that new energetic lass, which was about to render the British navy a ɔunterpoise to the military power of France. As soon ıs the two vessels had struck, Nelson proposed to admiral Hotham that they should be left with the Illustrious and Courageux, which had been crippled in the action; and that the rest of the fleet should pursue the enemy, and follow up the advantage already gained: but his reply was, 'We must be contented: we have done very well.'[7] 'Now,' said Nelson, 'had we captured ten sail, and allowed the eleventh to escape, I could never have called it well done.' The action that had taken place saved Corsica for the time: but the victory was so incomplete, that the arrival at Toulon of six sail of the line from Brest, gave the French a superiority, which, if they had known how to use it, might have enabled them to become masters of the Mediterranean. 'The British navy,' says Mr. Southey, 'had been much neglected during lord Chatham's administration at the admiralty;[8] and it

[7] The following account was communicated to the author by the late Dr. Valpy, of Reading; and he received it from captain Broke, who was at the time in question first lieutenant in admiral Hotham's flag-ship:—'When we saw the French fleet in the morning, the prospect was so favorable, that the officers congratulated each other on the certainty of promotion, fully expecting that all the enemy's ships would be taken or sunk: but what was our indignation, when we found that no signal was made for an engagement! The admiral remained the whole day in his cabin, tossing over the leaves of the signal-book; and as the two fleets passed on opposite tacks, a distant cannonade took place, which would have produced no effect, had not two French ships drifted into our line toward the evening. The admiral's conduct in this affair was so shameful, that the captains signed a round-robin not to serve under him again. It was said, but probably without foundation, that his favorite, Signora Grassini, was in the pay of the French government, which was the cause of this inaction: certain it is, that he did not venture to return to England for two years: but when he did return, instead of being brought to trial, he *was raised to the peerage!* for he possessed great parliamentary interest. Alas, poor admiral Byng!'

[8] Life of Nelson. Yet this was the man, who, because he was Mr. Pitt's brother, and a favorite at court, was afterwards selected to command the largest and most important expedition that ever left the shores of Great Britain. The

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did not, for some time, feel the beneficial effect of his removal: lord Hood had gone home to represent the real state of affairs, and solicit reinforcements adequate to the exigences of the times, and importance of the scene of action: but that fatal error of sending a force unequal to the service; that ruinous economy, which, by sparing a little, renders all that is spent useless, infected the British councils; and lord Hood, not being able to obtain such reinforcements as he knew were necessary, resigned his command.' Strange to say! at this moment we were lavishing on Austria a sum more than equal to support the British navy, during a whole year, in its most palmy state; whilst our admiralty would not send ships to support those same allies in gaining possession of the coasts of Sardinia; 'where,' said Nelson, 'the admiral did not feel himself equal to show himself, much less to give assistance in operations.'[9] It was not thus that the *great* earl of Chatham would have made war on the republicans: it was not thus that he wielded that most powerful arm of British greatness, when he declared to lord Anson, that if he did not prepare a fleet by a given time, he would impeach him. Meanwhile the courts of Vienna and Turin were making vigorous efforts for prosecuting the war on the Piedmontese frontier; their joint effective force being raised to 50,000 men, while the French were in a state of miserable destitution, through desertion and sickness during the severity of winter in those mountainous districts: after various actions, they were obliged to evacuate every position in the maritime Alps; while the allied armies threatened the country of Nice and the territory of the republic. If the latter had pushed their advantages with vigor, the French right wing might have been destroyed; for it was only by pledging their private credit, that Kellerman, Berthier, and the other generals could

result is well known; but it was a result as disgraceful to Mr. Pitt and George III. as to lord Chatham himself.

[9] Southey's Life of Nelson. When at length admiral Mann arrived with only five ships of the line, Nelson's exclamation was 'All men are alike; and we in this country do not find any amendment in the old board of admiralty: they should know that half the ships in the fleet require to go to England; and that long ago they ought to have reinforced us.'

obtain provisions for the dispirited troops: their situation was rendered still more desperate by an unsuccessful action between the French and British fleets near Frejus, when the Alcide, of seventy-four guns, blew up,[10] and the rest of the enemy's vessels, severely shattered, were obliged to retire into the harbor of Toulon. Nelson at this time had eight frigates placed under his command, and was making incredible exertions to cut off all trade between Genoa and the places occupied by French troops, at great risk to himself; since a naval captain was particularly liable to prosecution for detention of vessels and damage to the cargoes; while the frauds of neutrals required an eagle's eye to detect them: yet he persevered at all hazards; 'political courage being,' in the opinion of that great man, 'as necessary as military valor for an officer on a foreign station.' Fortunately for the republic, divisions between the allied generals paralysed every movement, and nothing effectual was undertaken, before 7000 men were despatched from the army of the eastern Pyrenees, and 10,000 from that of the Rhine, to reinforce the Alpine legions; while no reinforcements were sent to their adversaries: their motions also were so tardy, that Nelson began to suspect that the Austrian court, as well as its general, Devins, had other ends in view than the cause of the allies.[11] In the mean time, neutrals assisted France far more than the allies assisted each other; and privateers carried abundant supplies of provision from Genoa to her armies: at length, the republicans, under Massena, made a grand attack on the confederates, whose officers were so little aware of it, that the sound of French cannon roused them from a ball about sun-rise on the twenty-third of November. By

Defeat of the Austrians.

[10] The loss of this ship was said to be owing to a kind of quick-fire, with which the French fleet were provided; an invention far more perilous to themselves than to their enemies.

[11] 'This army,' said he, 'is slow beyond all description; and I begin to think that the emperor is anxious to touch another four millions of English money; as for the German generals, war is their trade, and peace is ruin to them: we therefore cannot expect that they should have any wish to finish the war. The politics of courts are so mean, that private people would be ashamed to act in the same way.'—Southey's Life.

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bringing up an overpowering force against the Austrian centre, Massena forced their position, and, breaking through their line, took all their positions in rear; so that their left wing was liable to be overwhelmed by a combined attack of the French centre and right. Next day the imperial general took precipitate steps to draw back his right wing; but was assailed with such vigor by Augereau's battalions, that the retreat became a rout; and in the midst of carnage and horror, unparalleled as yet in this war, forty-eight pieces of cannon and 100 caissons were abandoned by one column; while the other escaped with great difficulty, leaving behind all its artillery: 5000 prisoners, eighty pieces of cannon, and immense stores of ammunition, taken by the republicans, signalised the great victory of Loano, which terminated the campaign of the Alps in 1795; and by giving winter quarters to the French on the Italian side of that barrier, afforded them every facility for achieving their grand object of separating the Austrian from the Sardinian forces.

Affairs of La Vendée.

During the whole winter of 1794, the unconquerable Charette had, with a few thousand royalists, maintained the contest in La Vendée; and all the princes of Europe looked up to him, as the only man capable of restoring the royal cause: but after the fall of Robespierre, when greater moderation prevailed in the French government, a treaty of pacification was concluded; though, as soon as the first tumults of joy had subsided, it became evident that this was only a truce; and that the seeds of inextinguishable discord still subsisted between the opposite parties. Republican pride had reason to be mortified by this treaty: conquerors of all their other enemies, they were yet seemingly humbled by the peasants of La Vendée, who had extorted terms, for which European kings had in vain contended. 'It is painful,' says an eminent historian, 'to think that the renewal of hostilities in this district, and its tragic termination, was owing to the delusive hopes held out by Great Britain, with its ill-judged assistance.'[12]

[12] Alison, vol. ii. p. 497.

Induced by the flattering accounts of emigrants, the English ministry embarked 6000 of those exiles in our pay, and a regiment of artillery from Toulon, with eighty pieces of cannon, as well as arms and accoutrements for 80,000 men: these were separated into two divisions; and a third, composed of British troops, was destined to support the whole, when they had made good their landing on the French coast: the chief command of the expedition was given to the count d'Artois! and great hopes were entertained of its success from the co-operation of the Chouans and Vendéans, who had engaged, on the first appearance of a prince of the blood, to place 80,000 men at his disposal. All obstacles in the way of transporting troops to France were removed by a brilliant action between the channel fleet under lord Bridport, and the French squadron from Brest; in which the latter lost three ships of the line, while the rest were obliged to run for shelter into the harbor L'Orient. Under such circumstances, the expedition set sail, and on the twenty-seventh of June appeared in Quiberon-bay, where the soldiers immediately landed, and made themselves masters of Fort Penthievre: news of their disembarkation excited a great sensation throughout France, showing what might possibly have been the result, if a powerful army, capable of arresting the republicans in the field, had been thrown into the western provinces, when its numerous bands were effectively organised.

General Hoche immediately took vigorous measures to face the danger; and having so disposed a part of his forces as to overawe Britany, he proceeded with 7000 men to the peninsula of Quiberon, and drove back the royalists to an intrenched camp which they had formed near Fort Penthièvre: this led to an open rupture between the emigrants and the Chouans; who, being mutually exasperated, accused each other as the cause of this disaster; while many thousands of the latter disbanded themselves, and sought to escape from the peninsula. Affairs were also badly managed by the royalist committee in Paris: many of the French

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prisoners, who had volunteered for the expedition, deserted the royal standard; and, to secure a favorable reception by the government, gave such information as was calculated to promote the republican cause: Hoche, profiting by these circumstances, surprised Fort Penthièvre in the night, and stormed the camp, though not without a gallant resistance: all, however, was lost; a violent gale kept off the British fleet; hundreds perished in the waves; and thousands by the swords of their more cruel countrymen. Tallien, a commissioner sent by the convention, made an atrocious use of victory, by putting to death in cold blood 800 emigrant prisoners, in defiance of a verbal capitulation, accepted by general Humbert and the officers engaged in the combat: the horrid scene took place in a meadow near Auray, which is still held in veneration by the people, denominated the 'field of martyrs.'

The broken remains of this expedition were landed in the isle of Houat; where they were soon afterwards joined by 2500 men from England, who gained possession of the Isle Dieu; when the count d'Artois took the command: the insurgents of La Vendée, under Charette, marched in three columns to the Sables d'Olonne to join them; but so rapid and decisive were the measures of Hoche, that they were soon compelled to seek safety by dispersion: some partial insurrections at the same time broke out in Britany; but, from want of concert among the royalist chiefs, they came to nothing; and the British force, abandoning Isle Dieu, returned with the count to England: from this time, the affairs of the royalists in all the western provinces rapidly declined; and the efforts of the Chouans and Vendéans were confined to a species of guerilla warfare, which was completely extinguished in the following year, by the numerous troops and able dispositions of Hoche. 'It is painful,' says Mr. Alison again, 'to think how different might have been the result of the campaign, had Great Britain really put forth her strength in the contest; and, instead of landing a few thousand men on a coast bristling with bayonets, had sent 30,000 troops to make head against the republi-

cans, till the royalist forces were so organised, as to be able to take the field together with regular troops.' It is still more painful to think that a British ministry should for so long a time afterwards have persisted in attaching credit to representations made by connections and partisans of a worn out dynasty, lending aid to miserable, if not criminal enterprises, and linking itself, not to the cause of freedom, but of a discarded monarchy which had for so many ages been the curse of its own subjects, as well as the great disturber of Europe: but we may well doubt if all the force of British power, thrown at once on the shores of France, could at this time have resisted the spirit of republican vengeance: the fiat of the Almighty had gone forth against the ancient feudal tyranny; and it was not man's arm that could stop his decree.

Armies on the Rhine.

Moreau, at this time, commanded the army of the north, encamped in Holland; Jourdan, that of the Sambre and Meuse, stationed near Cologne; and Pichegru, that of the Rhine, cantoned from Mayence to Strasburg: but all these forces, from the great depreciation of paper money, were in a state of utter destitution, supplying, by forced contributions on the vanquished, the deficiency of their nominal pay. Discipline too became relaxed with the sufferings of the soldiers: their high military spirit was impaired; and multitudes of deserters resorted to Paris, where the convention was happy to form them into battalions, against the fury of the jacobins. The Austrians, on the other hand, had brought forward large reinforcements, well disciplined and equipped: their forces on the Rhine including the contingents of Suabia and Bavaria, amounted to 150,000 men; while their adversaries could not number above 144,500 in the field; and their cavalry was almost wholly dismounted.

The Rhine now separated these contending armies, from the Alps to the sea; the imperialists, however, had an advantage arising from the possession of Mayence, which gave them the means of making an eruption safely on the left bank: yet such was their consternation produced by late reverses, that they re-

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mained inactive on the right bank of the river till the end of June; when marshal Bender, having exhausted all means of subsistence, and seeing no hope of relief, was compelled to surrender the important fortress of Luxemburg to the republicans, with 10,000 men and an immense train of artillery: in the mean time, the prince of Condé, on the Upper Rhine, was engaged in a correspondence with the malcontents of Alsace, from whom he learned that Pichegru was not altogether inaccessible to negotiation; in fact, this illustrious officer was, on many accounts, discontented with the situation of himself and of the country: like Dumouriez and la Fayette, he had been horror-struck with the atrocities of the convention; and he saw no hope of amendment in the weak government that succeeded it; while the state of destitution, to which, in common with all the army, he was reduced by the fall in assignats, rendered him discontented with those who thus rewarded patriotic services. The character of Pichegru was humane; and he had set a noble example of exact discipline, as well as of honorable conduct toward his adversaries, during the late campaign in Holland: he had thus acquired great influence with the soldiers; and it is not less obvious to suppose, that, after having secured the independence of his country by conquest, he might desire to establish its internal prosperity by the restoration of a constitutional throne, than that he was tempted to betray the republican cause by large rewards, promised to him in case he should effect such a restoration. No decisive evidence has been yet produced on this question; but it is certain, that after six months spent in mysterious communications, Pichegru broke off the negotiation, and prepared to obey the orders of the convention.

Wurmser, who commanded the Austrian forces on the Upper Rhine, remained till the beginning of September without making any important movement: Mayence could not be reduced without a regular siege; and a squadron of gun-boats on the Rhine gave to the allies the command of that river: on the sixth

of September, however, Jourdan, having obtained the necessary means, effected a passage over it; compelled the garrison of Dusseldorf to capitulate; and, having repulsed the Austrians, advanced to the Lhan: meanwhile, Pichegru also, crossing the Upper Rhine took possession of the important city of Manheim; whence he might either combine with Jourdan for a general attack on the allied forces, or proceed to the reduction of Mayence. Clairfait, unable after the loss of Manheim to defend the line of the Lhan, abandoned his position on that river, and fell back behind the Maine; while Jourdan, leaving a division of his forces before Ehrenbreitstein, descended into the valley of the Maine, and invested Mayence on the right bank of the Rhine, while Pichegru was debouching from Manheim.

At this period the balance of fortune suddenly turned in favor of the Austrians. Clairfait, reinforced by 15,000 Hungarians, resumed the offensive; and succeeded, by a skilful march, in turning the French left, and forcing them back into a situation, where they had the enemy in front, and the Rhine in their rear: there was no resource then left but a retreat across that river; which was conducted with such confusion, that when they arrived at the right bank, scarcely fifty men of any corps were to be found together: suddenly abandoning his pursuit of the enemy, this intrepid general turned toward Mayence, and took by storm the magnificent lines of circumvallation which had cost the French a year's labor to construct. Assailed in all directions, the republicans made for some time an obstinate defence in the second line; but at length, being turned by other forces, which had crossed the river below the city, they fled in all directions, losing 3000 men, with all their artillery and stores, collected for this important siege.

At the same time, by the loss of an island which they had fortified, a league below Coblentz, the republican troops were obliged to evacuate the *tête de pont* of Nieuwied, and were driven to the left bank of the river: meanwhile Wurmser carried the *tête de pont* erected by Pichegru on the Neckar, and compelled that

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general to retire behind the Pfrim; from which position he was dislodged by Clairfait, driven over the Elsbach, and forced to leave Manheim to its own resources.

In this perplexing state of affairs, Jourdan, having partly reorganised his army, advanced, during tremendous weather, to the relief of so important a post; but all in vain: the central position of Clairfait and Wurmser covered the siege, and prevented the junction of the republican armies: so that, after several unsuccessful efforts, the French general was obliged to fall back; and Manheim, with a garrison of 9000 men, capitulated to Wurmser. That commander, being thus relieved from all apprehension as to his communications, brought his whole force to the left bank of the Rhine, and drove Pichegru back to the lines of Quiech and the neighborhood of Landau; while Clairfait pressed Jourdan so severely, that he obliged him to throw up an intrenched camp at Traerbach, with a view to secure a passage over the Moselle: in these disastrous circumstances, he received with joy a proposition from the Austrians, who, as well as their antagonists, were exhausted by the fatigues of this campaign, for a suspension of arms during the winter. Thus the career of French conquest was checked, and the spirit of its adversaries restored; while the republic had arrived at that period of lassitude in war, and financial embarrassment, to which our ministers looked for a successful termination of the contest: but all such speculations were destined to be overthrown by the appearance of a military hero on the stage, who was about to give a resistless impulse to French ambition, and for a long period, as an eminent writer has observed, 'to chain the history of Europe to his own biography.'

Affairs at Paris.

When the reign of terror was overthrown by that reaction which its enormities produced, there still remained two parties in Paris to contend for superiority; that of the committees,[13] which endeavored to retain the remnant of their power; and that of the liberators,

[13] Of public safety, &c.

or Thermidorians,[14] with Tallien at their head, supported by a large band of young men, who had lost parents or friends in the revolution, and went by the title of *la jeunesse dorée*. The influence of the committees, paralysed as they were by the fall of the municipality of Paris, lay chiefly in their possession of the machinery of government and in the vigor of their leaders,[15] who saw no prospect of safety for themselves but in the maintenance of a republican constitution: the Thermidorians, composing the whole centre of the assembly, with the remnant of royalists and Dantonists, gradually extended their authority by the accession of moderate men, and by the liberation of numerous members of the assembly incarcerated in the public prisons: but for a considerable time they were obliged to proceed with great caution against their antagonists; for the jacobins were still powerful from numbers and combinations: four days after the death of Robespierre, the sittings of their horrible club were resumed; and as they possessed a strong hold on the feelings of the populace, they at length assumed so menacing an attitude, that the Thermidorians found it necessary to rouse themselves, and invoke the assistance of the *jeunesse dorée*. These courageous young men, after several encounters, attacked the club at one of its sittings, and succeeded in dispersing the members with ignominy: the commissioners of the convention then put a seal on its papers; by which the existence of the club itself, and with it the union of the democratic party, was destroyed: the trial of the infamous Carrière, and of some other revolutionary monsters, revealed such atrocious scenes, that the populace became shocked at the villany of its own creatures; and the convention was soon able to carry into effect more humane designs, and abridge the power of the revolutionary tribunals: after this, it proceeded to a gradual abolition of other unconstitutional measures; and at length, strengthened by the increasing

[14] So called from the day in the republican calendar, on which they achieved their triumph.

[15] Billaud de Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrère, Vadier, Amar, Carnot, &c.

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force of public opinion, it ventured on the impeachment of Billaud de Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier: those remaining leaders of the jacobins, being so threatened, employed their utmost efforts to rouse the populace; and their design was aided by the intense sufferings now experienced from a want of bread, and the extreme depreciation of assignats, which threatened almost every individual with ruin: under such circumstances, on the first of April, a revolt was organised in the fauxbourgs to prevent the trials about to commence: the cry of the insurgents was, 'bread; the constitution of 1793; and freedom for the patriots.' A crowd rushed furiously into the assembly; every thing announced the approach of a crisis; and the jacobins were about to resume their former audacity; when a large body of the *troupe dorée* entered the hall under the command of Pichegru, chaunting in loud strains the *Reveil du Peuple:* the insurgents knew their masters; and that formidable body, before whom the strength of the monarchy had so often trembled, yielded to a few thousands of undisciplined, but courageous young men.[16]

The Thermidorians used a wise moderation in victory; and the accused leaders were condemned, not to death, but to banishment: for the jacobins, though broken, were not subdued; they still had a power of rallying the forces of the fauxbourgs, which had kept their arms, and were rendered desperate by needy circumstances under pressure of the times. On the twentieth of May, the hall of the convention was surrounded by about 30,000 of these sans-culottes, armed with pikes, who had risen 'to obtain bread and resume their rights.' The assembly, acting with vigor and promptitude, declared their sittings permanent, voted all assemblages of the people seditious, and summoned the national guard by the tocsin to their relief: the furious multitude, however, broke into the hall, obtained a victory over the legislature, and proceeded without delay to form a new government; to restore the jacobin club, as well as the democratic constitu-

[16] See Alison, vol. ii. p. 542.

tion; and to recall the exiled members. Every thing seemed to denote another revolution at hand; when the firmness of the committees saved France: with a few companies of the national guard, and a troop of the *jeunesse dorée*, they made a sally on the insurgents, routed them with disgrace, resumed at midnight their places in the assembly, and arrested twenty-eight members who had supported such violent proceedings. But the fauxbourgs, though defeated, were not yet subdued: next day they advanced in still greater force against the convention; and cannon were brought out on both sides; when the chiefs of the insurgents, having no leaders of ability, and being intimidated by a resistance which they did not expect, yielded to negotiation, and retired with an assurance that a supply of provisions for the capital should be attended to, and the laws of 1793 enforced.

Instructed by experience, the convention now took more decisive measures: six of the most obnoxious members of the Mountain were delivered over to a military commission; the fauxbourgs were surrounded by 30,000 national guards, supported by 10,000 troops of the line; and all avenues leading to these dens of assassins were commanded by cannon and mortars. This determination to bombard their quarters, being made known, produced an unconditional surrender: the revolutionary committees were suppressed; the constitution of 1793 was abolished; and the national guard reorganised: to crown all, the fauxbourgs were disarmed; their formidable pikes, so long the terror of Paris, were given up; and thus the reign of the mob terminated, six years after its commencement at the storming of the Bastile.

A strong reaction now began to show itself against democratic principles; accompanied however in many parts of France with terrible retaliation against the revolutionary party, from exasperated relations and friends of those who had suffered under its tyrannical decrees: in Paris, however, where the influence of the Girondists prevailed, this ebullition of fury was suppressed; and the convention proceeded to form a new

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constitution, differing widely from the democratic institutions of 1793. The fundamental error of uniting the whole legislative power in one assembly, was now corrected; two councils being appointed; that of the five hundred, with which all laws were to originate; and that of the ancients,[17] which had authority to pass or reject them; nor could any bill be carried before it had been three times read, with an interval of at least five days between each reading. The executive power, taken from the two committees, was lodged in the hands of five directors nominated by the council of five hundred, and approved by that of the ancients; each individual to be president by rotation for three months; one retiring every year, to be replaced by a new election. To this directory was committed the care of the army and finances, the appointment of public functionaries, and the management of negotiations: above all, it must be remarked, that the privilege of electing members of the legislature was taken from the great mass of the people, and confined to the colleges of delegates: all popular societies were prohibited; but the press was declared absolutely free.

The formation of such a constitution did not pass without exciting violent agitation; and this was increased by a decree of the convention, determining that two-thirds of its present members should form a part of the new legislature, the electors filling up only the remaining third: the forty-eight sections of Paris instantly assembled, and their leaders united with the royalist committees: the national guard shared in the general excitement; vehement harangues were uttered against the convention, which was compared to the English long parliament; the press teemed with publications against its ambitious views; and resistance was openly proclaimed. Surrounded by so many dangers, the convention, as a last resource, determined to throw itself on the protection of the army: the new constitution, being submitted to the consideration of the soldiers, was by them unanimously adopted; a body of 5000 regular troops was assembled near the

[17] No one could be a member of this council under forty years of age.

capital, and their adhesion announced to the citizens: besides, it soon appeared that the constitution had been accepted by a large majority of departments; yet the sections of Paris, accustomed to take the lead in public measures, were not discouraged, but unanimously resolved on resistance: the national guard, however, though it amounted to 30,000 men, was destitute of artillery,[18] while the government had 200 pieces at their command; but the former hoped by a rapid advance to gain possession of this formidable train.

The leaders of the convention, in the mean time, were not idle: a decree passed to dissolve the electoral bodies in Paris, which was openly resisted; and the national guard assembled to protect the electors at the Théâtre Français: the government committed its armed force to general Menou; who, instead of attacking the insurgents, entered into a negotiation with them; which gave all the advantage of victory to the sections, who planned an attack on the convention next day at its place of assembly.

Revolt of the sections suppressed by Bonaparte.

The members, alarmed at this intelligence, and suspecting Menou of treachery, dismissed him from his command about eleven at night, and conferred it on Barras with unlimited powers: great anxiety, however, still existed to procure an officer of nerve and decision as second in command, to take the actual direction of military force: and then it was, that a few words from Barras, addressed to his colleagues Tallien and Carnot, decided the fate of many European thrones. 'I have the man,' said he, 'whom you want; a little Corsican officer, who will stand on no ceremony.' Barras had been present at the siege of Toulon, and had not forgotten the inventive genius and decisive character of the young officer to whom the conquest of that city was to be ascribed. Napoleon Bonaparte was now sent for: he had witnessed the retreat of Menou; and he explained in a simple manner the causes of that check, as well as the modes

[18] The sections had delivered up their cannon, at the disarming of the faux-bourgs.

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of resistance to be adopted in case of the apprehended attack: his explanations were satisfactory; and the conventional forces were placed at his disposal, to defend that palace, which he had seen, with indignation, attacked and carried by a mob on the fatal tenth of August. His signal triumph over the sections, united with 30,000 national guards, on the thirteenth of Vindemiaire, fully established the authority of the convention, which rewarded its preserver by declaring him second in command of the army of the interior permanently under Barras: after this, it dissolved itself, to appear on the scene in a new character, forming two-thirds of the legislative council of the ancients, and that of five hundred. The directors first appointed were Barras, Sieyes, Reubell, Letourneur de la Manche, and Laraveillère Lepaux; but Sieyes, whose taste for politics lay rather in theory than in practice, declined the office, and was replaced by Carnot: a general amnesty was now proclaimed; and the name of the Place de la Révolution was changed into that of Place de la Concorde.

Establishment of the directory.

As Barras found his directorial duties incompatible with those of military command, Napoleon Bonaparte was soon nominated general-in-chief of the army of the interior; when he employed his genius in improving the state of the military; and, to prevent a recurrence of insurrections, he organised a guard to protect the representative body: in the mean time, accident introduced him to Madame Beauharnois, whose graceful person and engaging manners captivated him, as they had before captivated the director Barras: the latter was not unwilling to dissolve a temporary union which he had formed with the lady; and Bonaparte, by marriage, secured the powerful patronage of her former protector: the dowry of Josephine was the chief command of the Italian armies; by which a way was opened for his advance, through a splendid career of victory, to the imperial throne of France.

Bonaparte general of the interior.

In reviewing the domestic occurrences of Great Britain during this year, we are led particularly to notice the increasing spirit of disaffection which had

seized the minds of the populace, more especially in and around the metropolis, where levelling societies advanced in numbers and audacity; while the general discontent was heightened by a remarkable scarcity of grain, which drew up with it the prices of all other articles of subsistence: the war also was becoming unpopular; for to this were ascribed not only its own peculiar evils, but those which proceeded from natural causes: moreover, great efforts were made to persuade people that the contest had no definite object, and therefore was not likely to be brought speedily to a conclusion; while the success of the French on the continent, and the defection of our allies, seemed to promise that Great Britain would soon have to bear the whole burden of the contest. It is not difficult to persuade the multitude, who act more from feeling than reason, that war, whatever may be its object, is an evil to be avoided; for they cannot easily enter into those sentiments and principles, which lead statesmen rather to forego the enjoyment of a present good, and to bear the pressure of a temporary evil, than expose a country to the danger of permanent and irremediable calamities: in the present instance, so many causes combined to render this task more easy than usual, that peace and reform became the watchwords of faction, as well as the aspirations of many sensible and honorable men, who looked forward to such a consummation of their zealous exertions.

A petition to the legislature for peace had been carried in the common hall of the city of London by a large majority, and was followed by similar measures from several other cities and towns; the press teemed with publications adverse to the war; and the reforming clubs began to act with increasing boldness: in particular, the Corresponding Society held several public meetings; one of which, in the fields near Copenhagen-house, was characterised by a daring spirit, in seditious harangues addressed to an assembly of 50,000 persons.

Opening of parliament; attack on the king.

Such was the agitated state of the public mind; which, as well as the foreign relations of the country, determined ministers to call parliament together at so

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early a period as the twenty-ninth of October. On that day, as it was known the king intended to open the session in person, an immense concourse, chiefly of disaffected persons, met to express their sentiments of discontent; and when his majesty's carriage appeared in the Park, it was surrounded by a crowd, clamorously demanding peace and bread, and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt: some voices assumed a menacing tone, exclaiming, 'No king!' 'Down with George!' stones also were thrown at the state coach; and it was with great difficulty that the soldiers could clear a passage through the tumultuous mob: at length, as the royal carriage drew near to the ordnance office, a bullet, supposed to have been discharged from an air-gun, perforated the window, but happily without doing any other injury. His majesty behaved on this occasion with all his natural coolness and intrepidity: when he entered the house of peers, he merely said to the lord chancellor, 'My lord, we have been shot at;' and then proceeded to deliver his speech from the throne, without betraying the slightest agitation. After he had seated himself in the coach, on his return, he observed to his attendants,—'Well, my lords, one person is proposing this, and another is supposing that; forgetting that there is One above us all, who disposes of every thing, and on whom we all depend.' Happily, that Being still extended his protection over the pious sovereign, and saved this country from an indelible stain of regicide: he was, however, again exposed to insulting abuse; and on his way from the palace to Buckingham-house, he would probably have been sacrificed by the infuriated crowd, but for the prompt interference of a gentleman in the navy pay office, named Bedingfield; who, seeing his carriage stopped, and hearing the exclamation of 'Pull him out!' rushed forward, and, drawing a pistol from his pocket, intimidated the mob, until time was given for his majesty's rescue. Among the persons apprehended on account of this infamous outrage, was a journeyman printer, of the name of Kidd Wake; who, being brought to trial, was convicted, and sentenced to five

years' imprisonment in Glocester jail: his majesty, however, received much consolation from the assurances of loyalty to his sacred person, contained in numerous addresses presented to him from all parts of his kingdom:[19] confident, indeed, in the attachment of his people, and the protection of Providence, the king went, together with her majesty and three of the princesses, next evening, to Covent-garden theatre, where the royal visitors were welcomed with rapturous applause by their loyal subjects.

These outrages offered to the sovereign became instantly a subject of consideration with parliament, and suitable addresses were voted; after which, a bill was introduced into the upper house by lord Grenville, 'for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious attempts;' and on the same day, the premier, in the commons, moved for a bill 'to prevent seditious meetings.' These two bills had for their object a restriction of the right, hitherto possessed by the people, of assembling to petition the crown and legislature; or to discuss political subjects: they were warmly opposed in each stage of their progress through both houses; the minister was vehemently accused of a premeditated attack on the liberties of the people; and was tauntingly asked, how he could connect the acts of a few sanguinary ruffians, who probably were government spies, with the meeting at Copenhagen-house, or the proceedings of the Corresponding Society? Mr. Pitt, however, in this instance assumed the courage of Napoleon; and wielded the laws of his country against English jacobins, with as much decision and effect as the other turned his cannon against the rebellious sections of Paris; nor did he want defenders of his

[19] His majesty did not forget Mr. Bedingfield, the fortunate instrument of his preservation; but earnestly recommended him for some appointment to Mr. Dundas. On the gentleman (who was an Irishman) being asked by the secretary, what he could do for him; it is said, that Mr. Bedingfield, with the characteristic humor of his countrymen, answered,—'The best thing, sir, you can do for me, is to make me a Scotchman:' which allusion so offended Dundas, that he dismissed him as he came; and when the king repeatedly asked what had been done for the brave Irishman, he always received for answer, that no office was vacant: at last, he observed rather sharply to Mr. Dundas, 'Then, sir, you must make an office for him:' which was done, and a salary of £650 per annum annexed to it.

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conduct: Mr. Canning observed, 'that there was an intimate connexion between the proceedings at Copenhagen-house and the disgraceful outrage which followed; indeed he was astonished that any man, possessed of the common powers of reason, should doubt it. An attempt had been made on the king's life; and a doctrine preached, recommending the practice of king-killing: the doctrine was preached, and the attempt was made: the design of the speakers was not disguised; they openly declaimed against majesty, and against government: if then the attack immediately followed the promulgation of such abominable doctrines, he did not see how their connexion could be discredited: there was, indeed, a plea used, that they were assembled for the purpose of petitioning parliament; but this, it was easy to conceive, was only a pretext to mislead.' Mr. Grey, protesting against the measure, observed, 'that according to his own feelings it was unnecessary; because the existing laws appeared sufficient to repress the evil: if ministers had neglected to prosecute those who had made a base attack on the life of their sovereign, was that a reason why the liberties of all Englishmen should be taken from them?' Parliament, however, agreed with Mr. Pitt in thinking that extraordinary times required extraordinary precautions; so that the bills passed with large majorities, although their duration was limited to three years.

War with Holland.

The period was now approaching when England would have to contend against a coalition on the side of France. Early in the year, a proclamation was issued by the British government, ordering the seizure of all Dutch vessels found in our ports; in consequence of which, five ships of war were secured in Plymouth-sound, as well as nine East Indiamen, and about sixty other vessels: on the ninth of February, another was published, authorising the capture of all ships and property belonging to that people; after a short interval, letters of marque and reprisal were granted; so that war against the Batavian republic was virtually declared; and before the end of the summer the Cape

of Good Hope surrendered to our arms. This conquest had been effected by vice-admiral sir G. Keith Elphinstone and general sir Alured Clarke; with whom, after some fighting, terms of capitulation were adjusted, by which it was agreed, that the garrison should be considered prisoners of war, and the property of the Dutch East India company delivered up to the captors; but that private possessions and civil rights should be left unviolated. Not many months afterwards, Trincomalé, Columbo, and other Dutch possessions in Ceylon; Malacca on the peninsula of that name; Chinsura in the bay of Bengal; and Cochin on the Malabar coast; also Demerara and Essequibo in the West Indies, were taken by British forces: so that Holland seemed destined by her colonial possessions to make compensation to England for the expenses of the war: our insular acquisitions, however, obtained from France, were in considerable jeopardy. Early in the year, the French made great efforts to recover their possessions in the West Indies: having taken St. Eustatius, and put it into a state of defence, they planned a general revolt against the British government in all the islands formerly French: emissaries were sent among the negroes, and correspondences set on foot with the discontented French inhabitants, in order to raise a simultaneous insurrection. In St. Lucie, the English garrison was overpowered; when that part of it which retreated to the fort, after a blockade of three months, quitted the island. The attempts at Grenada, Dominica, and St. Vincents, though attended with temporary success, were finally defeated; but in the latter island the revolted Caribbs maintained their ground within their own limits. In Jamaica, a bloody war long subsisted with the Maroons, or descendants of negroes who revolted during the Spanish times; and that race became now almost extinguished.

Parliament was not unmindful of the critical state of the country, arising from the scarcity of corn: information laid before the house, showed that the principal failure of last harvest was in the crop of

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wheat: accordingly, a bounty of twenty shillings per quarter was ordered to be paid on its importation from the Mediterranean; fifteen shillings from America; and five shillings on Indian corn: bills were passed for prohibiting the manufacture of starch from wheat, or the distillation of spirits from grain; and others for encouraging the culture of waste grounds: hence a considerable number of enclosure bills were carried.

On the fourth of November lord Arden moved that 110,000 seamen, including 18,000 marines, should be voted for the year 1796; and Mr. Windham proposed that 207,000 men should be employed in the land service: a loan of twenty millions and a half, including a vote of credit, was declared requisite; but even this enormous sum was not sufficient; for a farther loan of seven millions and a half was raised during the year, making the additional amount of national debt, within the last three years, near eighty millions. Censurers of the war, viewing this immense burden, asked its advocates what benefits could accrue, which would balance the loss; and to what end we were carrying on the contest at such an unparalleled cost? To this it was replied, that the war had been undertaken for most important objects; that the greatest preparations were necessary, not only for defending Great Britain, but for inclining the enemy to peace: it was stated also that our commercial prospects were highly flattering; and the average of exports, during the last three years of peace, was much less than they had been during the three of war; besides, the decreased value of money made a great difference in sums nominally the same; and, compared with the importance of the object, and the magnitude of our efforts, the amount was not excessive. But notwithstanding these representations, it happened either from some difference in the views of those who advocated the war; or from an opinion that the great objects for which it had been undertaken might be obtained from the present government of France; or, as many thought, from a desire of occupying the attention of his antagonists in a delusive

negotiation,—that Mr. Pitt himself began to talk of peace: nay more; on the eighteenth of December he brought down to parliament a message from the king, announcing not only the formation of a regular government in France, but a readiness to meet any disposition for pacific negotiations, and to give them full effect. After this declaration, the arguments for and against peace ceased to turn on the competency of the French government to conclude a treaty. Mr. Fox contended that there never existed an obstacle to negotiation in any of the successive governments of that country; for the question was one of justice and expediency, belonging to the contending nations in their relations to each other, without any connexion with the internal affairs of either. Motions were afterwards made in both houses for addresses to the king, requesting him to open communications with the directorial government; but they were resisted by ministers, who contended that the conduct of a negotiation rested solely with the members of the executive: they alone could be proper agents in such a transaction, and they were bound to act unitedly with their allies: all had been done which honor and interest admitted, to bring France to this issue; but neither honor nor interest ought to be sacrificed. During these discussions, the conduct of the war underwent severe animadversions: the miscarriages of the campaign were said to betray a total want of concert in designs; our military measures were represented as merely a series of detached experiments, directed by no uniform plan, but showing a total want of that wisdom and energy so necessary to a war minister. Nor was censure confined to external measures: the interior concerns of administration were strongly reprobated; especially the erection of barracks; the augmentation of fencible cavalry; and the appointment of noblemen and gentlemen, who had never been in the army, to the command of newly-raised regiments: ministers were accused of a design to increase the influence of the crown by lucrative appointments given to their friends; while by their barrack system they separated the troops from the

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people, and destroyed that union of sentiment, without which soldiers become tools of an executive power, rather than constitutional defenders of their country. These arguments were repeatedly urged by many, and especially by Mr. Grey, in a motion for the impeachment of ministers: the latter defended themselves by showing that staff officers were not more numerous than the service required; that the barrack system was not new or unconstitutional, while it presented great facilities for collecting men, and obviated the expense and inconvenience of quartering soldiers on the publicans: with regard to regimental appointments, it was stated that men of distinction had been preferred to commands, as more able than others to procure levies: besides, in a war, of which an important object was the defence of rank and property, it was expedient to employ persons who had much at stake. National resources and expenditure also became subjects of discussion; and while one party represented the situation of this country as approaching the very brink of destruction; the other described it as abounding in resources of every kind, able to surmount all obstacles, and destined to obtain greater splendor than ever: most of the burdens imposed on the nation appeared to be distributed with judicious discrimination; the subjects of augmented taxation being wine, spirits, tea, coffee, silk, fruit, tobacco, salt, horses, dogs, hats, and legacies to collateral relatives; besides, all the assessed taxes were increased by ten per cent. Mr. Wilberforce, this session, renewed his motion for the abolition of the slave trade; which, though supported both by Pitt and Fox, was rejected. On the nineteenth of May parliament was prorogued, and a few days afterwards dissolved.

Birth of the princess Charlotte.

On the seventh of January this year, the birth of a princess to the heir-apparent, tended at first to dissipate, in some degree, that gloom which the alarms of war had spread over the nation: hearty congratulations were moved in both houses; and on the eleventh of February, the child was baptised by the name of Charlotte Caroline Augusta: but the birth of this

infant, who afterwards became so interesting an object to the British people, instead of producing union between her parents, seemed to have a contrary effect: a coolness, which had long been observed, now ripened into an open disagreement; and soon after the christening, negotiations were carried on for an amicable separation. This royal marriage had been most inauspiciously contracted; contrarieties in temper and habits were too strong to give any hope of domestic comfort; while predilections, on both sides, for other objects,[20] served to increase mutual antipathy: the disunion, which had been easily foreseen, took place before the end of April. The king continued to interpose his good offices, and desired that the princess should at least reside under the same roof with her husband; accordingly, she had apartments in Carlton-house, while the prince spent his time chiefly at Brighton: a villa, however, near Blackheath was ultimately fixed on for her residence; and there, with her daughter and some attendant ladies, she lived several years in retirement.

Riotous conduct of the populace.

These events did not tend to allay that popular irritation, which, to a considerable extent, existed against the royal family. As their majesties were returning from Drury-lane theatre on the first of February, a stone was flung against their carriage in Pall Mall, which, breaking the window, struck the queen; and though a reward of £1000 was offered for the detection of the offender, he remained undiscovered: in the same month also, another maniacal attempt was fortunately prevented, in the case of a woman genteely dressed, who had gained entrance into the queen's palace. Among the numerous libels against his ma-

[20] 'Never,' says Dr. Croly, 'was there a more speaking lesson to the dissipations of men of rank than the prince's involvements. While he was wearied with the attempt to extricate himself from lady Jersey's irritations, another claimant came: Mrs. Fitzherbert was again in the field. Whatever might be her rights, since the royal marriage, that of a wife could not be included in them; but her demands were not the less embarrassing. A large pension, a handsome outfit, and a costly mansion in Park-lane, at length reconciled her to life: and his royal highness had the delight of being hampered with three women at a time; two of them prodigal, and totally past the day of attraction, even if attraction could have been an excuse; and the third complaining of neglects, which brought on him and his two old women a storm of censure and ridicule.'—Life of George IV., p. 261.

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jesty, which at this period issued from the licentious portion of the press, one by Daniel Eaton, a notorious jacobin, was not less remarkable for the just eulogium which it produced from lord Kenyon on the character of his sovereign, than for the person of the libeller, whose father had held an office in Windsor-castle, and who had sometimes had the honor of being a playmate of the king: this circumstance, with a weak monarch, might have had the effect of screening him from punishment; but George III. was well aware of the effects produced in France by a licentious press. The pamphlet of this malignant libeller under prosecution, had accused the king of defrauding his people of nine millions of money; and it recommended the guillotine as a sovereign remedy: in allusion to which charge, his lordship, in his address to the jury, took occasion to compare the benevolent and pious monarch with the prophetic judge of Israel: for *he* also might say,—'Whose ox have I taken? whose ass have I taken? whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed?' It is not often that the chief officer of the law, on the sacred tribunal of justice, has an opportunity thus to commend his sovereign, without risking the imputation of flattery: in the present instance, the sentiments came home so strongly to the feelings of all, that the conviction of the libeller was not doubted for a moment.

Views of the British government.

It is scarcely possible to fix on a period of his majesty's life more pregnant with gloomy forebodings than that which now engrosses our attention: it was in truth a time of rebellion, mutiny, and revolution; the vessel of the state was exposed to all the storms of domestic faction, as well as foreign war; and it was the energy and perseverance of the monarch which chiefly contributed to save it. One consequence, indeed, might have been expected from the disastrous state of public affairs: a partial change at least of ministers might have been regarded as a necessary result of unsuccessful counsels; but George III. had, on mature reflection, given his confidence to Mr. Pitt, and he saw no reason to revoke it. Though many

allies had failed us, yet the heart of Britain was still sound; and Austria was now making such immense exertions, that success once more appeared within our grasp. Mr. Pitt, though immeasurably inferior to his illustrious father as a war minister, justly entertained, like him, the notion that a political interference in the concerns of the European commonwealth was incumbent on Great Britain; that 'this nation being,' to use his own expression, 'chained to the continent by the bonds of a liberal and enlightened policy,' would thus be more easily trained to that largeness of view, which constitutes national greatness. Entertaining such sentiments, he was prepared to act up to them, as far as he felt himself encouraged by the nation; and its sentiments were fairly tried at a general election which took place in the summer of this year. With very few exceptions, where the influence of private character or family connexions weighed against political considerations, the tide of success ran strongly in favor of the minister; though it must be acknowleged, that he was not indebted solely to the approval of his political plans, for that stanch support which rendered his power so firm: innumerable arts began now to be applied; and self-interest, the strongest principle in our nature, was successfully enlisted in the service of administration: the number of creations and promotions in the peerage every year[1] were alluring baits on the ministerial hook; while fortunes made by loans and contracts attached monied men to a system which promised them immense advantages. As the war advanced, patronage gradually expanded itself to such a degree, that a horror of jacobinism was no longer requisite to support the minister: that feeling became merged in a still stronger principle. To this state of things the boroughmongering system being united, and acting both as cause and effect, carried influence to so high a pitch, that disapprobation of a minister began to be represented as opposition to all good government; and a system of terrorism started up in England, which subjected, as it were, to a moral guillotine the charac-

General election.

[1] In this year they were unusually large.

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ter of those who doubted his infallibility. This system florished while the war lasted, and as long as danger from foreign foes hung over the country: but when peace came, and the same plan was carried on, though its pressure became more severe and increasing intelligence opened the eyes of all classes to its abuses, the people demanded redress; and that very funding system, which had been the principal cause of their grievances, enabled them to obtain the remedy which they sought; for a government, which has to support a debt like ours, is obliged to buy tranquillity at almost any price: the nation then threw off the oligarchical yoke; and being desirous of rendering the popular branch of our legislature less dependent on ministerial influence, instituted that plan of reform, the efficacy of which is still under trial.

Vigor of Mr. Pitt's policy.

Supported, however, by the old machinery, and encouraged by royal favor, Mr. Pitt prepared himself for a vigorous prosecution of the war: he felt confident in the resources of England; and he relied on the efforts which self-interest would produce in the continental powers: at the same time, he expected that the struggle would be brief, and that a national bankruptcy would soon extinguish the very embers of revolution in France. To confirm the cabinet in this warlike disposition, to rouse the national spirit for renewed exertions, to point out the dishonor and danger of forming treaties with men who exhibited a notorious contempt for good faith, and were stained with blood shed in violation of all honorable and virtuous principles, Mr. Burke published his celebrated 'Letters on a Regicide Peace.' His conceptions, however, regarding the war differed materially from those of the minister: he thought that it would not only be violent, but protracted; that it was essential to our success to disclaim all ideas of partitioning the French territory, to distinguish between the government and the nation, and to declare against the jacobin faction, as distinct from the people; that France ought to be attacked on her own soil, and in the first instance by a British army sent to La Vendée; that it was impo-

litic to employ troops and fleets in reducing West Indian islands, while French armies were suffered to overrun the continent; and that England, possessing an actual force of near 300,000 men, with an invincible navy of 500 ships of war, might make an irresistible impression upon any part of the French dominions.

Death of Mr. Burke.

This was the last scintillation of that genius, which shed so great a splendor on its own times, and is destined to send down to posterity as grand and clear views of political philosophy as ever flowed from the human mind. A severe calamity had lately overtaken Mr. Burke in the death of his only son, of whose talents and virtues he had formed the highest expectations; and for whose advancement he had vacated his own seat in parliament: nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the troubles which he saw imminent over his country contributed to that prostration of bodily powers which soon followed, and in the next year brought him to the grave. It is evident, that this great man looked into the future with a very discerning eye, and with that capacity to point out consequences, which was one of the greatest of his many high qualities: in fact, most of our errors in this war proceeded from a neglect of his views; as all its successful operations, toward the close of it, arose from their adoption. It was only when England directed her best energies against the French territory; threw a powerful body of troops on the continent; employed high talent in command; made her militia the nursery of her army; and, instead of sending her fleets on expeditions against sugar islands, employed them to sustain powerful invasions;—that she rose triumphant over her enemy: it was only when the allies followed this example, determining to engage with France on her own soil, disclaiming all partition, and announcing that the war was not against the nation, but against the tyranny, perfidy, and ambition of its government;—that they discovered the right road which conducted them to its capital.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1796.

State of military affairs—Reduction of La Vendée—Campaign under Moreau and Jourdan in Germany against the archduke Charles—Italian campaign of Napoleon, including the surrender of Corsica, and isle of Elba—War with Spain, &c.—Dutch attempt to retake the Cape of Good Hope frustrated—French expedition to the coast of Ireland—Capture of sir Sidney Smith and captain Wright—Action of captain Trollope in the Glatton—Success of the French in Newfoundland—Quarrel between the French and American governments—Financial state of France, and distress consequent on it—Reduction of the national debt—Vain attempts of the French government against British commerce—Death of the empress of Russia and the king of Sardinia—Meeting of parliament, &c.—Discussion respecting peace—Mr. Pitt's plans for increasing the military power of the country—Land and sea forces—Supplies and loans, &c.—Vote of censure against the minister on account of German subsidy, rejected—Mission of lord Malmesbury to Paris—Negotiation for peace fails—British manifesto—Discussion of it in parliament.

Military affairs on the continent.

THE campaign of this year, when compared with those that preceded it, appears like a war of giants; so vast were its plans, so numerous the forces engaged, and so tremendous the issue of its conflicts. France had three objects in contemplation: an invasion of Germany; another of Italy; and the subjugation of La Vendée, which, by its connexion with the royalists and England, brought great embarrassments into all other military operations. Hostilities had raged in that unhappy district during the winter: early in the spring, however, the active and experienced Hoche was sent against the insurgents with an immense army; Charette was completely defeated, and his followers were dispersed: an amnesty was then proclaimed, and such a plan of

conciliation adopted, as ultimately restored tranquillity.

The archduke Charles of Austria, brother to the emperor, and a man of great military genius, headed the Austrian army: with him was joined the veteran Wurmser, who at the age of eighty exhibited almost the activity of youth: 175,000 troops, of which 40,000 were the finest cavalry in Europe, defended the entrance of Germany, on the side of the Rhine; against whom Jourdan and Moreau were despatched with 150,000 men; the former approaching the empire by the Upper Rhine, and the latter directing his course through Suabia.

The first successes of the French were brilliant: they drove the imperialists everywhere back from the frontiers; deprived them of their magazines, cannon, and arms, and even threatened the hereditary states. Within six weeks, the Austrians were reduced to two-thirds of their original force; and the French armies covered the country from Stutgard to the lake of Constance; a line of 150 miles.

But the hour of retribution was at hand: by one of those singular changes of circumstances, which operate so powerfully in war, the French abandoned the principle of concentrating their attacks on divided portions of their antagonists; while the Austrians combined their forces, and impinged on the separated French corps. The fortune of the campaign was immediately reversed: the archduke, in his interesting Memoirs, tells us, that his purpose was, to retreat slowly, disputing every inch of ground without hazarding an engagement, until the two retiring armies came so near together, that he could fall with a superior force on one or other of his adversaries. Continuing at the head of the army opposed to Moreau, until he had successively led it across the Neckar, and the difficult country intervening between that river and the Danube, he gallantly engaged his antagonist at the passage of the latter; and at one time turned the French right: he would even have thrown their whole army into

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confusion, but for the firmness of its centre: he then crossed the Danube, and placed his troops in safety.

Here the war paused; for the blow was to be struck in another quarter. Jourdan had pressed forward along the valley of the Maine, to turn the right of the Germans under Wartensleben; who continued their retreat slowly converging toward their position on the Danube, and followed by Jourdan with the eagerness of anticipated victory: but the time for teaching him a severe lesson was come; for on the twentieth of August, the archduke, leaving Latour with 35,000 men to defend Austria against Moreau, brought 28,000 into Wartensleben's lines: the united force amounted to nearly 63,000; that of the enemy scarcely reached 45,000; the attack was made without delay; and thus began the most sanguinary and decisive campaign in the war.

Within two days after his arrival, the archduke gave orders to drive in the advanced guard under Bernadotte, posted at the foot of the mountains: the struggle was severe; but in a few hours, the French were compelled to retire through the gorges in their rear. The archduke, with a vigor new to the national character, now turned to throw himself, with his victorious troops, on the main body under Jourdan: he found that general strongly posted; but the confidence of the Austrians in their commander was at its height: they rushed boldly through all difficulties; and the enemy made but a feeble resistance: his flank was turned; his centre was forced; and the desperate valor of Ney alone, who commanded the rear guard, rescued the army from finding its grave in the memorable position of Amberg: all was now confusion in the French camp, and the only alternative was a speedy retreat. Those only who have witnessed the march of retreating forces, can conceive the misery that awaited the republicans in the long mountainous ranges from the Naab to the Maine: during six terrible days and nights, their army wound its slow way through the hills, with the Austrians thundering in its rear; and,

on emerging at Wurtzburg, Jourdan made an effort to repair the honor of France, by waiting for the enemy's columns as they advanced from the ravines: the occasion was judiciously taken; for the pursuers, rushing down from the mountains, were liable to be attacked in disorder, while the French had time to choose their points of assault. But superior tactics were again combined with superior intrepidity: the archduke out-manœuvred Jourdan; and while the latter was preparing to commence an attack on what he thought a portion of his antagonist's army, he suddenly found himself enveloped by the whole, and was assailed at once in front and flank. After endeavoring to restore the fortune of the day by a desperate charge of cavalry which was utterly routed by the Austrian cuirassiers, Jourdan saw that his only chance of safety lay in a retreat: the order was given, and the French infantry plunged into the recesses of the forest.

From this time the only hope of their general was in the rapidity of his march: it cost him vast sacrifices; for before he reached the banks of the Lahn, he lost 122 pieces of cannon which he had captured in his advance, and 143 of his own: here he gladly halted; and being reinforced with 25,000 troops under Marceau, was forced to give battle to his pursuers; was defeated; and saved only by the approach of night. Having abandoned his position, he was pursued by the Austrian cavalry, who slaughtered his troops straggling through the woods; and his retreat for three days was a perpetual battle, till he reached Altenburg, a position rendered memorable by the fall of the gallant Marceau, who commanded the rear guard: his routed army now lost all hope; and, flying to the Rhine, crossed that river at Bonn on the twentieth of September, totally shattered, and incapable of moving during the rest of the campaign.

But the archduke was about to obtain another wreath of glory, During the retreat of Jourdan, Moreau's force, composed of the finest troops of France, had penetrated into Bavaria, and was advancing to the very heart of Germany: the gallant prince received

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this intelligence when in sight of the French columns; and the prompt reply was,—'Let him advance to the gates of Vienna, if he will: he is undone, if we beat Jourdan:' with these words he continued the pursuit, and having driven the last follower of that general from the violated soil of his country, he turned to repel the insults of another foe still more formidable. Moreau's genius was that of caution; and the advance of Latour's light troops at Ulm was the signal of a retreat through 200 miles of mountain and forest, from Bavaria to the Rhine; a retreat, which is still commemorated as one of the most consummate displays of generalship in military annals: it must, however, be confessed, that he had no slight advantage in a compact force of 70,000 men, untouched by disaster, and enjoying the abundance of an unspoiled country; against an army of 63,000, divided into four distinct corps, separated from each other by large tracts of country, and wearied with constant fighting.

At Biberach, near the entrance of the Black Forest, Moreau made the first stand against his vigorous pursuer, Latour, who could bring no more than 24,000 men into the field. The French threw on him such a weight of numbers, that nothing but the most heroic resistance could have saved his army from destruction: the position was partially forced, and at nightfall the conflict ceased, with a loss to the Austrians of 4000 men on the field, and 18 pieces of cannon. The French now plunged into the Black Forest, in three corps; the main body marching through the Vallée d'Enfer; while the left and right divisions, under Dessaix and Ferino, cleared the mountains of the enemy's light troops on its flanks. After sixteen days of deliberate manœuvres in those perilous passes, Moreau formed his lines in the valley of the Rhine, and began to appear less a fugitive than a conqueror; when the presence of the archduke Charles suddenly changed the aspect of affairs: determined to drive the last squadron of France across the river, he collected all his strength, and threw himself on his foes, at the foot of Waldkirch height; when, after a

long resistance, the position was carried, and the whole French line driven into the forest behind the Elz. One battle more was necessary to clear the territory: the French commander pitched his tent on the rocky ridge of Hohenblau, whence he could survey the forest he had passed, and the Rhine, which was so soon to form his line of safety: the position was admirably chosen: with his left on the river, his centre on a citadel of rocks, and his right embattled on precipices, he seemed almost beyond the reach of attack; but the Germans were in sight of the Rhine; a new spirit of patriotism had sprung up among them; and they saw their favorite general at their head. Rapidly forming into four colums, they climbed the precipices, burst through a shower of grape and musketry poured from the heights, and with fixed bayonets plunged into the masses of their antagonists: the struggle was brief; for the French gave way after a terrible slaughter, and were chased from the heights: but at the river side, they were suddenly saved from destruction by a storm of rain and wind, memorable for its tremendous violence: the battle was suspended amid the roaring of the thunder, the bursts of the whirlwind, and a deluge of rain: Moreau crossed the mighty stream in the night, and interposed that barrier between himself and his pursuers.

The archduke proposed to crush the French invasion of Italy by throwing an army across the Tyrol; but the evil genius of Austria, in her Aulic council, now prevailed: he was ordered to assault Kehl, the chief fortress in possession of the French on the right bank of the Rhine; and, perhaps, no operations of the kind were ever conducted on a larger scale; not fewer than 30,000 troops being appointed for its defence, with a large reserve in the Rhenish islands; while the besieging troops under Latour were 40,000, with the archduke's army as a covering force. On the twenty-first of October the trenches were opened; and from that period there was a succession of sorties and fierce encounters, amidst inclement weather, which deluged the trenches with rain: still the Austrians

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persevered, and the place capitulated on the ninth of January, after its defences had been crushed by a bombardment, which poured into it 100,000 balls and 25,000 shells: the *tête de pont* of Huningen, assailed with the same vigor, also surrendered; and the liberation of Germany from the presence of its republican enemy was complete.

Campaign in Italy.

But it was not in Germany that the fate of Austria was to be decided: when the French rulers directed their grand operations against the empire on the side of the Rhine, they determined to make a powerful diversion in Italy; and sent thither Napoleon Bonaparte, at once the liberator and spoliator of that interesting country. A detail of the battles of this celebrated conqueror must be left to the general historian; our province is rather to give the results of his rapid and extraordinary conquests. The decisive and exciting tone with which he was accustomed to animate his troops by the anticipation of victory, was strikingly exemplified in his first appeal to them on the Alpine frontier, in the spirit, and almost in the words of Hannibal:—'Soldiers,' said he, 'you are nearly naked, and half-starved; the government owes you much, and can give you nothing: your patience, and your courage, in the midst of these rocks, are admirable; but they reflect no splendor on your arms: I am about to conduct you into the finest plains of the earth: fertile provinces, opulent cities, will soon be in your power: there you will find rich harvests, honor and glory. Soldiers of Italy! will you fail in courage?' Against this band of intrepid republicans were arrayed about 80,000 imperialists, well disciplined, ably commanded, and provided with every necessary to an army: that of the king of Sardinia was 60,000 strong; while the pope and the king of Naples were occupied in embodying as many troops as their circumstances would permit; the latter having despatched more than 2000 horse to serve with the emperor: moreover, an excellent commander, sir John Jervis, now commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, by whom the indefatigable Nelson was employed to co-

operate with our allies. But, though the greatest force which the French could afford to their illustrious general, while La Vendée remained in arms, did not exceed 50,000 men, with this he advanced against his numerous antagonists; and before the end of April, assisted by the talents and courage of Augereau and Massena, had gained the important battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi, by which he effected a separation of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies. The king of Sardinia was then obliged to appease the conqueror, whom he could no longer resist; and his negotiators were desirous of making conditions; but the characteristic reply of Napoleon was,—'It is for me to impose conditions: you must obey; or my batteries are erected by to-morrow, and Turin is in flames.' Having definitively annexed Savoy to the French territory, he required the surrender of almost all its important fortresses, except Turin; by which means he laid open the gorges of the Alps, and, at the same time, secured a free passage across Piedmont. On the day of signing the armistice, he thus wrote to the directory:—'Coni, Cevi, Alessandria, are in the hands of your army: if you do not ratify the convention, I shall keep those fortresses, and march on Turin: meanwhile, I shall advance to-morrow against Beaulieu, and drive him across the Po: I shall follow close at his heels, overrun Lombardy, and in a month enter the Tyrol; then join the army of the Rhine, and carry our united forces into Bavaria: the design is worthy of you, of the army, and of the destinies of France: if you continue your confidence in me, I will answer for the result; and Italy is at your feet.'

The answer of the directors applauded the zeal of their general, and approved his plan, as far as it went to drive the Austrians into the Tyrol; but, instead of following that foe, it directed him to march with half his army against Rome and Naples, leaving the other half under Kellerman, who would be sent as second in command: he was also reminded to consult the commission of the directory on all important occasions. This hint, as well as the proposal of dividing his army,

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stirred up the temper of Napoleon: he replied, in a manner characteristic of himself, that nothing great or decisive could be effected but by one uncontrolled commander. 'Break the unity of military thought,' said he, 'and you lose Italy: Kellerman has more experience than I have, and knows how to make war better; but both together we shall make it badly: I would not willingly serve with a man who considers himself the first general in Europe.' The directory, or rather Carnot, was wise enough to leave the management of the contest to Napoleon.

Passage of the bridge of Lodi.

Beaulieu had posted his army at the confluence of the Tesino and Po, under an expectation, which was humored by Bonaparte, that his antagonist intended to pass the latter stream at Valenza, where there was a bridge: but the French general, having made a rapid march down the right bank to Piacenza, passed the river in boats; and attacking the nearest Austrian division, routed and drove it to Pizzighitone on the Adda, the only river now intervening between the French and Milan. Thither he hastened, but found the place too well garrisoned for an attack; accordingly, he traced his course upwards to the next bridge, which was that of Lodi: thus far also Beaulieu had made good a retreat, with half his army; the rest having been sent to garrison Milan. The attack on this bridge was one of the most remarkable exploits in Bonaparte's career: so formidable was the covering battery, that to this alone its defence was committed; Beaulieu withdrawing his troops beyond range of the French shot, and considering that his opponent, as a tactician, would not venture to approach: but he knew not the enemy with whom he was engaged. A column of the stoutest grenadiers was formed, and prepared to cross; but its front was shattered by a shower of balls, and 700 men fell at one discharge: the column recoiling at this blow, hesitated for a time; till Napoleon and his staff placed themselves at its head, and cheered them on to victory: the first fire of the battery was the grand obstacle; that having been withstood, the French rushed on the guns, and bayoneted the cannoneers:

their cavalry following, had time to form and charge before the main line of the tardy Austrians could come up: but these soon fled from a vigorous assault, leaving behind them their artillery, colors, and some thousands of prisoners. This action had exactly the effect on his troops which Napoleon was anxious to produce: it inspired them with the idea that they were invincible; in which point of view, though the slaughter was tremendous, and the actual result of success comparatively small, the victory itself was of incalculable importance: 'It was after the passage of Lodi,' said he, 'that the idea shot across my mind, that I might become a decisive actor on the theatre of political events: then arose, for the first time, the flame of great ambition.'

Rapid conquests of Napoleon.

Rapidity of movement was a striking feature in the system of warfare introduced by this new conqueror: five days after the action at Lodi, he was making his triumphant entry into Milan, where he met with an enthusiastic welcome, while he proclaimed himself the assertor of Italian independence. He, however, levied immense contributions, not only on the Milanese, but on Parma and Modena, as the price of an armistice; part of his terms with the two latter cities being the surrender of their choicest works of art; a species of spoil, which from this period distinguished the military successes of France, and which, of all prizes, was the most gratifying to its people: nor was it long before he reaped a fresh harvest of these inestimable treasures. Alarmed at the advance of so formidable an enemy, both the pope and the king of Naples sued for an armistice: this was granted to his Sicilian majesty on the easy terms of withdrawing all assistance from the allied army; but the sovereign pontiff was obliged to cede, not only his cities then in possession of the French, but to add Ancona also to their number; with a contribution of 20,000,000 francs by instalments, and 100 statues, pictures, busts, and vases, to be selected by competent judges. In the mean time, the harsh terms of French fraternisation created an extensive revolt in Lombardy: Napoleon, who had

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resumed his march eastward, and was advanced as far as Lodi, returned to Milan, where he found the insurrection put down: but at Pavia it had been more successful, for the insurgents expelled the French garrison and gained possession of the citadel. With artillery, that sovereign arm against a mob, he battered down the gates and cleared the streets; after which he gave up the city to pillage, and sent the magistrates, with several other persons of distinction, to be shot in cold blood; he then rejoined his army, and from that period published his offers of freedom, and pillaged the cities by wholesale.

He now entered the Venetian states, without respecting the neutrality of their government, or the recollections connected with their former greatness. Beaulieu, reinforced, had retired behind the Mincio, which runs from the Lago di Garda to Mantua, and was determined to defend its passage: for this purpose he had taken possession of the Peschiera, a fortress on the river where it issues from the lake; and, posting his troops along the stream, with its centre at Borghetto, he there waited for his opponents: but the confidence of his troops was gone. Bonaparte attacked Borghetto; and though an arch in the bridge had been destroyed, the French crossed the water chin-deep, beat their enemies on the opposite bank, re-established the bridge, and obliged the Austrians to abandon Peschiera. Beaulieu then retreated into the gorges of the Tyrol; and Mantua was the only city of Italy where the imperial standard still floated: it was an almost impregnable place, but Napoleon determined to invest it; and his chief concern was to take up an advantageous position for covering the siege: the Adige formed the best line of defence; Verona and Legnano being its keys: Venice was reluctant to yield them; but partly by menace, and partly by trick, possession was gained, and a garrison thrown into each.

In the mean time, Wurmser, released from his defence of the empire, was sent to rally the scattered troops of Beaulieu; with which and his own forces,

amounting in the whole to 60,000, he issued from the Tyrol; and so high were his hopes, that while he advanced down the Adige to relieve Mantua, he despatched 20,000 men under Quasdanowitch, to march round the Lago di Garda, and cut off the retreat of the enemy. Then shone forth the great military genius of Napoleon: his projected line of defence on the Adige was useless; for Wurmser's chief force poured down the pass between it and the lake: Massena there was driven from his positions; while Guyeux retired before Quasdanowitch. A council of war was called; and all, except Augereau, advised a general retreat; but the resources of their commander were not exhausted: quick as lightning he saw the error committed by Wurmser in marching on two lines separated by the water: the besieging army was instantly drawn from Mantua, and rallied, with all the other scattered forces at the southern extremity of the lake, westward of the Mincio: then, while Wurmser idly advanced on Mantua, to provision that fortress, and perhaps to enjoy the sight of a siege abandoned, Bonaparte attacked the other column, as it *debouched* from Brescia, overthrew it, and forced it to retreat; after which he hurried back, scarcely quitting his saddle for many days, to face the enemy advancing from the Adige. As he arrived to support Massena, who had been driven from Lonato, along the road from Brescia, the Austrians pushed forward their wings to envelop him, and to throw their right as near as possible to Quasdanowitch: Napoleon allowed them to extend themselves, until the moment of attack arrived; seizing this, he threw forward his whole force, and broke their centre, which was strenuously pursued by Junot; to whom, ultimately, it laid down its arms. Such was the celebrated battle of Lonato, fought on the third of August: that of Castiglione followed on the fifth, when Wurmser himself narrowly escaped capture, and retreated into the Tyrol: in the beginning of September, the Austrian general, being reinforced, resumed offensive operations; but, strange to say, he again committed the fault of dividing his force to cover the two lines of

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Roveredo and Vicenza. Napoleon, instead of following his example, attacked the division under Davidowitch at Roveredo, and totally overthrew it; then marched straight after Wurmser down the Brenta, attacked him at Bassano, and forced him to retire for refuge, with 15,000 men, into the fortress of Mantua.

To renew the siege was all that was left to the French general: had the army of the Rhine been equally successful, he might have passed through the Tyrol, and acted in concert with it against the Austrian territory; but his own was too weak to attempt this by itself: he therefore waited for the events of war, and busied himself in extending French influence. Modena and Reggio were encouraged to expel their sovereign; and these places being united with Ferrara and Bologna, were formed, under French protection, into the Cispadane republic: soon, however, a fourth army was sent by the indefatigable efforts of Austria, under field-marshal Alvinzi, to contend for power in the field; and Bonaparte, who had not yet received a single reinforcement from the directory, felt as if the fruits of all his victories were about to be torn from his grasp. A part of his forces under Vaubois were driven back by an Austrian column, which descended from the Tyrol under Davidowitch: he himself attacked Alvinzi on the Brenta, and gained only a trifling advantage; the imperialists advanced to the strong heights of Caldiero, within a few leagues of Verona, whence the French were unable to dislodge them; but the genius of Napoleon did not desert him: evacuating Verona, he led his forces down the Adige as far as Ronco; crossed the river, and took a position in the rear of the Austrians: between him and his enemy, however, was a bridge over the Alpone at Arcola, strongly defended by cannon; but to carry it was indispensable: Augereau attacked it with the utmost gallantry, but was twice repulsed: Napoleon then threw himself among the soldiers, seized a flag, and bore it at their head; while more than one brave officer fell in covering the general with his own body: every effort, however, was fruitless; the column was driven

back; and Bonaparte, borne with the flying troops into an adjoining marsh, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. All hope of surprising Alvinzi was thus lost; but that officer, instead of advancing on Verona, imprudently followed his antagonist into the marshes of Ronco and Arcola; where his columns were swept off the long causeways by French artillery, until the two armies were rendered more equal: then followed the great battle of Arcola on the seventeenth of November; in which Alvinzi was beat from the field with immense loss, and obliged, like his predecessor, to take refuge in the Austrian Alps.

Bonaparte soon felt that the conquest of all Italy was within his reach. Treaties, and the rights of neutral, or even friendly powers, were little regarded: in open contempt of both he had invaded Tuscany, and had taken possession of Leghorn under pretence of dislodging the English: in consequence of this movement, Nelson blockaded that harbor, and landed a force in the isle of Elba, to secure Porto Ferrajo. Genoa, whose government had long assisted France covertly, now openly sided with that republican power, willingly yielding to the first menace, by which it was required to exclude the English from its ports: in consequence, the British admiral seized on the island of Capraia, which had formerly belonged to Corsica; but this act of vigor was not followed up by our government; as it placed too much dependance on the continental states, and too little on its own resources: accordingly, orders were given for the evacuation of Corsica itself; a measure that was considered necessary, after Spain had entered into an offensive alliance with France; which event took place in August this year. 'It was impolitic,' says Mr. Southey,[1] 'to annex the island in question to the British dominions; but having done so, it was disgraceful to abandon it.' No one felt this disgrace more keenly than Nelson, by whose activity and courage, at the evacuation of Bastia, not only all private property belonging to his countrymen, but public stores, valued at £200,000, were saved from

[1] See his Life of Nelson.

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pillage. Having then hoisted his broad pendant on board the Minerva frigate, with the Blanche under his command, he proceeded to superintend the evacuation also of Porto Ferrajo; for the British fleet, in consequence of peace between Naples and the republic, had received orders to quit the Mediterranean station, and proceed to the support of Portugal.

The Dutch government resolving not to part with so valuable a settlement as the Cape of Good Hope without a struggle, fitted out two ships of the line and five smaller vessels, which anchored on the second of August in Saldanha-bay; but at the very time when general Craig was marching toward the coast to meet the invaders, he perceived a British fleet of seven sail of the line, with several smaller ships, steering to the harbor: admiral Elphinstone, its commander, anchored within gun-shot of the enemy, and sent a summons to the Dutch admiral; who, knowing resistance to be useless, delivered up his squadron without having fired a gun. Early this year two of the finest frigates in the French navy were captured by the western squadron. The Unité, of 38 guns and 255 men, struck to the Révolutionaire, captain Cole; and the Virginie, of 40 guns, commanded by captain Bergeret, a French officer of high character and promise, rewarded the skill and gallantry of sir Edward Pellew in the Indefatigable.

French expedition to Ireland.

The state of Ireland, where the papists hoped to overthrow protestant supremacy, and the liberals expected the triumph of their own principles, encouraged the directory to strike a blow of no uncommon magnitude in that quarter. On the twentieth of December, general Hoche, the distinguished conqueror of La Vendée, embarked at Brest, with 15,000 troops, to co-operate with the disaffected Irish, who were both numerous and organised for insurrection: admiral Villaret Joyeuse had been appointed to conduct the naval part of the expedition, with eighteen ships of the line, beside frigates and transports; but in consequence of a misunderstanding between him and the general, he was superseded by vice-admiral Morard de Galles:

this formidable armament had scarcely left the harbor, when a storm arose, which totally dispersed it, obliging the frigate which carried Hoche to take refuge in Rochelle, after being chased by two British ships: of the whole, only eight sail of the line reached the coast of Ireland, and appeared in Bantry-bay; but general Grouchy, the second in command, was unable to land his troops; for the vessels were soon forced off that station by tempestuous weather; and the whole expedition, after having suffered considerable losses in the gale, was obliged to return to France; fortunate in escaping the British fleet under lord Bridport, which arrived in Bantry-bay almost immediately after its departure. One of the line of battle ships, however, the Droits de l'Homme, was attacked before she could reach a port, by two of our frigates, the Indefatigable, sir Edward Pellew, and the Amazon, captain Reynolds, which engaged her in a violent gale, and finally drove her on shore, where she went to pieces: the Amazon also took the ground; but her crew displayed that admirable discipline which British seamen are accustomed to retain under such circumstances; for having constructed rafts, they contrived to escape to shore, with the loss of only six men, who had stolen the cutter from the stern, and were drowned: the Indefatigable was saved by an extraordinary display of skill in seamanship.

Such was the determined courage of British seamen at this period, that scarcely any superiority of force could repress their ardor for attack: even in port the enemy's vessels were constantly boarded and cut out, under the incessant fire of batteries and musketry: on one of these occasions, the service had to lament the capture of two able officers, captain Wright and sir Sidney Smith; who were taken, after a very obstinate resistance, in attempting to cut an armed lugger out of the inner road of Havre de Grace. The different fates of these gallant men are well known: they were treated during their captivity, to use captain Wright's own words, 'in a manner unparalleled in military history; the enemy endeavoring to justify such con-

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duct, by assigning to their expedition a motive and character incompatible with the laws of war.' One of the most gallant actions in our naval annals was fought on the sixteenth of July, by captain Trollope in the Glatton, of sixty-four guns, with six French frigates; which he beat off, though surrounded in such a manner as to be attacked at once on his lee-quarter, weather-bow, and stern: in August the French made a successful expedition against Newfoundland, where shipping and merchandise to a large amount were captured or destroyed.

Disputes between France and America.

Scarcely was the new government of France installed, when it became involved in a quarrel with America, on account of the treaty lately executed between that country and Great Britain. By the treaty of 1778, which was still in force, the United States had guaranteed to France their West Indian colonies; but, by that of 1795, they consented that even supplies of provisions sent by them to those islands should be treated as illegal commerce: the directory, in consequence, affecting to regard the Americans as secret enemies, made such depredations on their trade, as almost amounted to a commercial war: an *arrêt* was also issued on the third of July, ordering French ships of war to observe such conduct toward the vessels of neutral nations as they had hitherto suffered, without resenting it, from the English: thus began that oppressive system to which neutral powers were doomed in the future progress of this war: toward the close of summer, Mr. Monroe, American ambassador at Paris, was recalled; and the directory not only refused to receive Mr. Pinkney, who was appointed to be his successor, but suspended M. Adet, French resident at Philadelphia, from his functions: so stood the foreign relations of the United States, when Washington finally retired from the cares of government, to enjoy a short period of repose under his beloved shades of Mount Vernon.

French financial difficulties.

While the soldiers of France were extending their conquests, her directory was under the necessity of attending to the subject of finance: the quantity of

circulating assignats had risen in January to forty-five milliards; and the depreciation was so excessive, that one thousand million of francs produced only a million in metallic currency; i. e., the paper currency had fallen to a thousandth part of its nominal value: to stop this alarming evil, government adopted the plan of issuing a new species of paper-money, to be called territorial *mandats*, intending to draw in the assignats at the rate of thirty for one: this was, in fact, creating a different kind of assignats, with an inferior denomination; and was meant to conceal the enormous depreciation of the old ones. Such now became the national currency, and formed a legal tender: at the same time, a law was passed to sell the remaining national domains, which were assigned to the holder of *mandats* without any other formality than a simple *procès verbal*, which at first tended to raise their value: two milliards and four hundred millions in this currency were issued; while severe measures were adopted to give them a forced circulation; penalties being even enacted against selling *mandats* at less than their nominal value in gold or silver: but though they were secured on an extent of land supposed to be of equal value, they began to decline, and were soon at a discount nearly as great, in proportion to their value, as the old assignats: by no measure of finance, could paper money, distrusted abroad and redundant at home, be maintained at any thing like its nominal value; government, therefore, with all its civil servants and public creditors, were suffering the severest privations; and while the armies of Pichegru and Napoleon, paid in coin extracted from foreign states, were living in luxury, those on the soil of the republic, and paid in its depreciated paper, were starving; and the general distress became so intolerable, that the great refuge of the sufferers was suicide: all classes began to perceive that it was vain to pursue the chimerical plan of upholding the value of paper under so excessive a depreciation; and on the sixteenth of July, it was declared that every one was at liberty to transact business in what money he chose; also that

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the *mandats* should be taken at their current value, taxes being received either in coin, or *mandats* at that rate; for which it was also decreed, that the national domains still undisposed of should be sold. These expedients, however, could not long defer the evil day: deprived of the extraordinary resource of issuing paper, the directory were obliged to calculate their real revenue, and endeavor to accommodate their expenditure to that standard: but their calculation was erroneous; for their revenue proved much less, and their expenditure much greater, than had been anticipated; meanwhile, the armies were in extreme penury, and all national establishments on the brink of ruin: in these circumstances, it was not possible to avoid a bankruptcy; and at length, the public creditors, who once so loudly praised the first movements of revolution, became its victims in 1797, by the annihilation of two-thirds of the national debt.

Various were the plans of annoyance projected against England by the French government; but all had been hitherto delayed or set aside as inadequate or impracticable, until it was suggested that the most effectual method of opposing her with advantage, was to exclude her manufactures from every port subject to French control. This new species of hostility was carried into execution with as much despatch as the jarring interests of continental states would allow; and British goods were soon unable to obtain legal entrance into any port from the Elbe to the Adriatic, except those belonging to the Hans Towns, Portugal, and Russia: but the capital, power, and enterprise of Great Britain still forced her manufactures, through different inlets, into countries subject to the severest restrictions; while her merchants opened new and numerous sources of wealth in other quarters of the globe.

Death of Catharine II.

On the sixth of November this year died Catharine II. of Russia, having lived to see the conclusion of that grand tragedy which she had commenced, in the partition of Poland. She had divided the spoil with others, but not the dominion; and what she had

granted to them, would perhaps have been reclaimed, had she not been surprised by death: no one of her predecessors had exercised influence like hers on Europe: but affairs became different when her only son, Paul I. ascended the throne with different maxims: about the same time also died Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, who left his dominions in a very mutilated condition to his son, the prince of Piedmont.

Meeting of parliament.

The British parliament met on the sixth of October; when his majesty stated that he had omitted no endeavors to obtain peace, and to secure general tranquillity: at the same time, he recommended a renewal of exertions, as a manifestation of our power and determination to carry on the war, if necessary. The party attached to Burke, adopting the opinions of that statesman wholly or partially, reprobated all negotiation with the republic; but ministers declared that they had never asserted or supposed that the security of our own realms was unattainable apart from the re-establishment of monarchy in France: the French government, it was said, appeared to have a tendency toward moderation; our own country also was improved in tranquillity, through the operation of wise enactments passed last session; and a fair opening for negotiation was acknowleged: the principal members of opposition, however, though they heartily approved of this declaration, could not, judging from the conduct rather than the profession of ministers, give them credit for sincerity. Pitt strongly urged a preparation for war as the surest way of obtaining favorable terms of peace; exhibiting at the same time a very encouraging account of the state of the nation, and the increased extent of its resources.

A clause of the king's speech had declared his majesty's apprehension of an invasion; Pitt therefore recommended the adoption of measures to repel such an attempt; for which purpose he formed a plan of levying 15,000 men from the different parishes for sea service, and another for recruiting the regular regiments without materially interfering with the general

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industry of the country: to effect this, he proposed a supplementary levy of militia to be grafted on the old establishment, to the number of 60,000; not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled and trained, so as to be fit for service at the moment of danger: he also proposed to provide 20,000 irregular cavalry; every person who kept ten horses being obliged to furnish one horse and horseman; those who kept more to be assessed in proportion; and those who kept less to be distributed into classes to furnish one at the common expense: these propositions all passed into laws; and a bill was also brought in and carried by Mr. Dundas, to raise a militia in Scotland: the whole number of land forces intended for 1797 was 195,694; that of seamen 120,000. By the annual statement of finances, it appeared that £18,000,000 would be required by way of loan, exclusive of £5,500,000 in exchequer bills, and about £13,500,000 in victualling, transport, and navy bills, which the minister proposed to fund: this loan was soon followed by a second, of eighteen millions, comprehending various deficiencies, and including a vote of three millions for the emperor of Germany: its terms were highly advantageous to the monied interest, as it was funded at less than £50 for each £100 of three per cents. Though the lowest classes continued to be exempted from the severest pressure of new taxes, still the principal part of them bore heavily on the comforts of the middle ranks;[2] and in regard to the ministerial plans of finance, complaints began to be made, not without justice, that the very opulent contributed very little in proportion to their property. Mr. Pitt having admitted, on moving the vote of credit, that £1,200,000 had been advanced to the emperor without the previous consent of parliament, Mr. Fox observed, that if such a measure did not meet with reprobation, he should think that man a hypocrite who pretended to see any distinction between our government and an absolute monarchy: the majority in favor of ministers, on

[2] The fresh imposts were on tea, coffee, spirits, sugar, &c.; on assessed taxes, postage, stage coaches, and canal navigation.

the motion for a vote of censure, was smaller than usual.

During these preparations to carry on war, negotiations for peace were opened, more in compliance with a prevalent wish among the people, than from any anxiety of their rulers to obtain it. His Britannic majesty, from whom the proposal originated, sent lord Malmesbury to Paris in the autumn, for the purpose of adjusting terms of reconciliation; but the elation of the republicans by their success in Italy, and their hopes from Ireland, were calculated to obstruct all such views: besides, an envoy despatched about this time by the court of London to that of Berlin, with an intent, as was supposed, of drawing Prussia again into a coalition, excited considerable jealousy in the minds of the directors: under such adverse circumstances, lord Malmesbury opened his commission, proposing a mutual restitution of conquests as the basis of a treaty; and, as France had made no acquisitions from Great Britain, he offered to give up our conquests in return for what she might restore to the allies. The directory were at first unwilling to admit the interference of other powers in the negotiation; but this point was at length conceded; and lord Malmesbury, being requested to declare his system of compensation more fully, proposed the restitution of all conquests in the Netherlands and Italy to the emperor; the accession of Russia to the treaty; and the including of Portugal, without any indemnification required by France: in return for which, Great Britain would restore her conquests in both Indies: no obstacle, it was said, would be interposed by his Britannic majesty against Spain becoming a party in the negotiation; and in case Holland were reinstated in the political situation which she occupied before the war, her colonial possessions captured by Great Britain would be restored; but if she continued a republic, their Britannic and imperial majesties would be obliged to seek, in territorial compensations, that security which such a state of things would render necessary. When these memorials were given in, it was asked,

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whether the disunion of Belgium and France was considered indispensable; to which an answer was given in the affirmative; since the annexation of the Netherlands to the French republic would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and loss to the allies, than the state of affairs intitled the directory to expect. In the course of discussion, M. de la Croix said that this difficulty could never be surmounted; and in two days afterwards, he requested lord Malmesbury to send in his ultimatum: to this his lordship replied, that so peremptory a demand of an ultimatum, before the respective powers had communicated to each other their pretensions, was to shut the door against all negotiation; but he repeated, that he was ready to discuss the proposals of his court, or of any *contre-projet* which might be delivered to him on the part of the directory: the answer of that body was, that they would listen to no proposal contrary to the constitution, the laws, and the treaties which bound the republic; and as lord Malmesbury announced that he must ask the opinion of his court, it appeared that he was not invested with sufficient powers to treat: he was therefore required to quit the capital in two days, and the territory of the republic as expeditiously as possible; 'but,' it was added, 'if the British cabinet be really desirous of peace, the executive directory is ready to follow up negotiations according to the basis laid down in the present note by the reciprocal transmission of couriers.' Thus ended the first attempt at peace, as might have been expected: for scarcely any thing could be more evident than that the directory must have been conscious that their own possession of power mainly rested on the continuation of hostilities; and that peace would, as it were, have paralysed the nation. Our ministry, ascribing the abrupt conclusion of negotiations intirely to France, published a manifesto, dated the twenty-seventh of December, enlarging on their own pacific dispositions, and setting forth the malignant hostility of the French government.

This document was laid before parliament; when

ministers took an opportunity of expatiating on it in eloquent and impressive comments, calculated to animate the indignation of members, and of the country at large, against the republicans. Mr. Pitt asserted, that the rupture of the late negotiations was wholly due to that government, which demanded, not as an ultimatum, but as a preliminary, to retain all territories, of which the war had given them a temporary possession; and respecting which they had thought proper to pass a decree, annexing them unalienably to the republic: and not content with thus abrogating the law of nations, as well as previous treaties, they had offered a studied insult to his majesty, by ordering his ambassador to quit Paris, and proposing to carry on negotiations by reciprocal couriers. 'The question is,' said Mr. Pitt, 'not how much you will give for peace; but how much disgrace you will suffer at the outset; how much degradation you will submit to as a preliminary: shall we then persevere in the war, with a spirit and energy worthy of the British name and character; or shall we, by sending couriers to Paris, prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn, supercilious government? I hope there is not a hand in his majesty's council that would sign the proposal; that there is not a heart in this house which would sanction the measure; and that there is not an individual in the realm who would act as courier.' Mr. Erskine, in answering the minister's speech, took a general view of the causes and consequences of the war, and endeavored to prove that the ostensible were not the real grounds of the rupture. Fox argued that the whole amount of Pitt's splendid oration, was to admit that we had been four years engaged in a contest, unprecedented for expense, both in men and money; that after all our efforts, so honorable to the British people; after an addition of £200,000,000 to our national debt, and of £9,000,000 to our permanent taxes; after a dreadful effusion of human blood, and an incalculable addition to human misery, we had gained no object for which we engaged in war; nay, the minister this night had proved, by his elaborate speech,

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that our enemies had from success become more unreasonable in their pretensions; and that all hopes of peace were removed to a greater distance than ever. After descanting on the folly of persisting in hostilities against the French government on account of Belgium, and auguring much evil from the unexampled depreciation of our funds in consequence of lord Malmesbury's return, Fox moved an address to the throne, recommending that his majesty's faithful commons should proceed to investigate the conduct of ministers, whose infatuated counsels had involved this nation in her present misfortunes, and frustrated the late negotiations. A similar motion was made in the upper house by lord Oxford, but both were negatived; while opposite addresses, approving highly of the general system of administration, as well as the principles and conduct of the late negotiation, were carried by such large majorities, that Fox, disgusted at what he designated as venality and servility in parliament, began to contemplate a secession from the house of commons.

CHAPTER XL.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1797.

General state of the nation—Stoppage of cash payments at the Bank—Ministerial and parliamentary measures thereon—Consequences—Mutiny among the sailors—Agitation in Ireland—Motions respecting the same in the two houses—Motions for the dismissal of ministers rejected—Mr. Grey's motion for parliamentary reform—Proposal for inquiry into the state of the nation—Marriage of the princess royal—Session terminates—French expedition to the coast of Wales—State of the enemy's navy—Battle of Cape St. Vincent—Expedition against Teneriffe—Attack on Santa Cruz—Capture of Trinidad, and failure against Porto Rico—Admiral Duncan's victory off Camperdown—General thanksgiving—Military affairs in Italy—Bonaparte crosses the Tyrolese Alps, and advances near to Vienna—Armistice of Leoben—Revolt of the Venetian states, and consequences—Dissentions in the government at Paris—Conduct of Napoleon—Re-establishment of the directory by the military—Circumstances leading to the treaty of Campo Formio—Pacific arrangements—State of Europe—Renewal of pacific negotiations between England and France at Lille—Reasons for its failure—Napoleon returns to Paris—The directory wishes him to attempt the invasion of England—He sees the folly of such a plan, but resolves on an expedition to Egypt—Meeting of the British parliament—King's speech—Retirement of opposition members from the house—Address to the king—Increasing popularity of ministers—New financial scheme—Strongly opposed by opposition—Mr. Nicholls's speech—Minister's scheme is carried—Voluntary contributions to the defence of the country—Death of the king of Prussia—Congress of Radstadt—Release of la Fayette by Austria.

State of the nation.

THE sentiments of parliament on the state of public affairs, at this time, were far from being general throughout the country: instead of acknowleging signs of national prosperity, a large portion of the people shrank from the immense burdens of the war,

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and predicted ruin to the state: in fact, the present year was that of a great crisis. We were involved in a contest apparently interminable, except by our submission; since little hope appeared of saving the continent from French domination; at the same time, public credit seemed tottering to its base; rebellion was ready to burst out in Ireland; and our national defenders, the British seamen, disgusted both by real and fancied wrongs, were preparing to turn their mutinous arms against their own country.

Stoppage of cash payments at the Bank.

The first measure of this session which solicits our attention, is the alteration of the currency, produced by an act authorising the suspension of cash payments at the Bank of England;—an act of marvellous efficacy in its day; but which has been productive of consequences far more extensive and important than ever entered into the imagination of its supporters. As the rapid increase of our national debt, and the failure of pacific negotiations, had lately created alarm among fundholders, sellers became more numerous than buyers, and the prices of stock fell proportionally: to apprehensions respecting public credit, were added fears for the grand national repository, the Bank of England; for it had been drained of immense sums by government, whose remittances to foreign powers, being necessarily made in specie, had greatly diminished the circulating coin. As early as 1795, its directors had earnestly requested Mr. Pitt so to arrange his financial measures for the year, as not to depend on farther assistance from them; and at different times they repeated these remonstrances, stating the absolute necessity of diminishing the sum of their advances to government; the last having been granted with great reluctance, and at his pressing solicitation: in 1796, however, they again yielded to the urgent necessities of the public service: but when the minister, at the commencement of the present year, required still larger advances, stating that, beside accommodation to the English treasury, a loan of £1,500,000 would be wanted for Ireland, the governor of the Bank was directed to inform Mr. Pitt that a compliance with

his request would 'probably oblige the directors to shut their doors.'

Nor was the accommodation afforded to government the sole cause of alarm: timid persons had felt inclined, ever since the beginning of the war, to hoard their cash; and fears of invasion had lately induced many capitalists, farmers, and opulent tradesmen to withdraw their deposits from country bankers: the demand for specie which this occasioned soon reached the metropolis; so that on Monday, the twentieth of February, a great run commenced on the Bank, which went on increasing rapidly till the twenty-fourth; when the demands for cash became so frequent and large, that a deputation of directors hastened to submit their situation to the chancellor of the exchequer, and ask him how far he thought they might venture to go in paying coin, without detriment to the public service. The nature of the case appeared so alarming to the cabinet, that a messenger was instantly despatched to Windsor for his majesty; who hastened to town, and held a council, the first time during his reign, for the transaction of business on a Sunday; when the conclusion to which they came, was an order, prohibiting the Bank from issuing any more gold in payment of its notes, until the sense of parliament could be taken. With a view of allaying the public alarm which this measure was calculated to excite, a notice was appended to the order of privy council, declaring that the general concerns of the Bank were in so prosperous a condition, as to preclude every doubt as to the security of its notes; that the directors meant to continue their usual discounts for the accommodation of the commercial interest, paying the amount in bank paper, and the dividend warrants in the same manner.

A meeting of merchants and bankers was held the same day at the Mansion-House, when it was determined to support the credit of the Bank by receiving its notes in payment of any sum of money; and the lords of council agreed to a similar resolution: when this subject was announced to the two houses, opponents and supporters of administration expressed very

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different opinions respecting it; the former construing this discontinuance of cash payments into a state of insolvency and bankruptcy, as usually defined by commercial men; while ministers considered the case as one not to be measured by ordinary rules. The Bank had been stated to possess, in its corporate property, effects far exceeding all demands to which it was liable; but from unfounded alarms, it was not allowed to retain the usual quantity of gold and silver; it could not therefore be called insolvent and bankrupt, when its effects would soon bring plenty of gold and silver into its coffers: the first step taken was to appoint two secret committees for ascertaining the assets of the Bank beyond its debts; and their reports stated that these amounted to the sum of £3,826,890, exclusive of a permanent debt of £11,666,800 in the three per cent. stock, due from government; also that the demands which occasioned a drain of cash had of late been progressive; and that they were likely to go on increasing, until they would deprive the Bank of its means of supplying that cash to government, which its pressing exigences might require. On these reports, Mr. Pitt proposed and carried a bill, enabling the directors to issue notes in payment of demands, instead of cash, agreeably to the late order of council: a clause also was introduced, which prevented any person from being subject to arrest, who offered Bank of England notes in discharge of a debt: this, however, did not strictly amount to a legal tender; as it was afterwards determined in the courts of law, that a creditor might still demand cash in payment of a debt instead of notes. A bill was also introduced to legalise the issue of small notes by private persons; from which time the circulation of gold coin in a great measure ceased, and notes of one pound and upwards became the general medium of commercial intercourse.

With regard to the policy and expediency of this measure, judgment will be given, according as opinions vary with respect to the policy and expediency of the war: there can be no question respecting the

necessity of such a bill, if the war was to be carried on; for the whole world could not have supplied cash for the vast expenditure in which that war was involving us: leaving this question therefore in abeyance, let us briefly consider the effects which necessarily resulted from so celebrated a stroke of policy: the circulating medium being now easily multiplied, government was freed from all embarrassment; the benefit of a rising market was generally experienced; taxes could be increased without becoming burdensome; and the minister was enabled to raise any supplies which the most profuse expenditure might render necessary: he could create offices, augment salaries, grant pensions, form the most extravagant contracts, and buy seats in parliament by wholesale: he could send out expeditions, like that of Walcheren, without fears for the result; he could subsidise foreign potentates to any amount, and organise coalitions to any extent; nay, he could send the whole military force of England into Spain, and provision it from this country.

No one suffered materially from this change but those who were living on fixed incomes or the interest of money; and laborers, whose wages never rise in proportion to the depreciation of the currency: as the bill, however, took from the least productive classes what it gave to those who employed the same in reproduction, the consequence was, that agriculture received a powerful impulse; immense tracts of waste land were brought into cultivation, and every new species of husbandry was introduced; for landowners joined with their tenants in improvements, when they found rents rising at the expiration of leases: owing to this general influx of money, trade also florished to an unexampled extent; great national works were undertaken for the employment of capital; and prosperity every where appeared in spite of long and expensive wars, which never were known to create prosperity before: besides, the population, naturally accommodating itself to the large addition thus made

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to productive capital and the demand for labor, became proportionally augmented.

The multitude were astonished at these phenomena; but a few discerning persons saw how delusive were appearances, which, in fact, concealed a robbery committed on a large portion of the community: they foresaw the ruinous habits of profligacy and expenditure which would thence be introduced into all stages of society; and the general distress which would ensue at the end of the war; when the circulating medium must necessarily be contracted, and the enormous debts, which war had occasioned, be paid in that contracted currency: they foresaw also the vast advantages which monied men would thereby gain over the ancient aristocracy of the country; as well as that irritation which all the suffering classes in the community would feel, and which would necessarily urge them to make violent changes in the constitution, with a hope of discovering a remedy for their distress. The first great change of our national currency, which benefited the debtor at the expense of the creditor, may be said to have created that magnificent but deceptive prosperity, which overthrew Napoleon; the second change, which took from the debtor what it gave to the creditor, and from the productive classes what it gave to the non-productive, being too rapidly executed, and without any respect to an equitable adjustment, has altered, and may possibly, unless counteracted by other powerful influences, overthrow the British constitution.

Alarm, caused by the stoppage of cash payments at the Bank, was not much abated before another cause of anxiety arose from the mutinous spirit which broke out among our sailors, on account of their inadequate pay, as well as the quantity and quality of their provisions. Signs of this discontent first appeared at Spithead, when lord Bridport received orders from government to put to sea with the channel fleet; for instead of obeying the signal for preparation, the admiral's crew ran up the shrouds, and gave three

Discontents at Spithead.

cheers; which, being answered by the other vessels, manifested a thorough combination. The crew of the Cleopatra frigate alone escaped this contagion; by whose good disposition captain Penrose set sail with admirable address, and joined sir Edward Pellew's squadron at Falmouth; whence he started with the Indefatigable and Révolutionnaire, on a cruise, in which the great importance of the western squadron was very manifest; for in fact it became the protector of the channel: several armed vessels were taken; and sir Edward was careful to run in frequently with his ships at different parts of the French coast, to create a belief that a considerable British force was out.[1] The mutineers, having appointed delegates, sent a petition to admiral lord Howe, in which they stated, that as long as a redress of grievances was refused to them, they would not quit their station, 'unless the enemy was known to be at sea.' Through the meritorious exertions of that excellent officer, who was not less respected by ministers than beloved by the seamen, their reasonable demands were granted; and it was supposed that all cause of dissatisfaction was removed: but when lord Bridport made a signal for weighing anchor, every ship refused to obey, from a groundless apprehension that government had deceived them, and did not mean to fulfil its engagement: a meeting therefore of delegates was again called, to be held on board the London; but vice-admiral Colpoys, being determined to prevent so illegal an assembly, ordered his marines to fire on the advancing boats; in which five men were killed. Irritated by this act, the crew rose on their commander, and confined him, as well as the captain of the London, for several hours in separate cabins; and in this state the sailors at Portsmouth remained till the fourteenth of May, when lord Howe arrived with plenary powers from the admiralty, as well as an act of parliament, granting additional pay to the seamen, and his majesty's proclamation of pardon: the flag of insurrection was then struck, and the public saw with satisfaction the extinction of this

[1] See Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 170.

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dangerous mutiny: another, however, sprang up in a different quarter, which was calculated to convert that satisfaction into the most serious alarm and consternation.

Mutiny at the Nore.

The grievances of which our sailors complained ought never to have existed; but it was one of the minister's great faults, and it adhered strongly to his school of politicians, not to correct an abuse, till the evil rose to such a height, that correction could no longer be safely deferred: with all that knowlege of political machinery, that insight into causes and effects, and that union of transcendent faculties which distinguished Mr. Pitt, he did not possess a keen sense of justice toward individuals; neither did he feel for private losses, or grievances affecting particular bodies of men, so long as the wheels of government ran smoothly on, and the system which he had set in motion was not deranged. Owing to this defect in the minister's character, it happened, that the concessions to our seamen were extorted, instead of being voluntarily granted; and the same method lay open to their ulterior claims: the crews of the North-Sea fleet, as well as of the ships at the Nore, imitating the conduct of those at Spithead, but exceeding them in the extent of their demands, appointed a committee of delegates from each vessel, and chose Richard Parker, a man of strong abilities and resolute character, to be its president. The claims of these mutineers comprehended greater liberty of absence from ships in harbor, a more just distribution of prize-money, a more punctual discharge of arrears of pay, with several other privileges and exemptions, which were considered inconsistent with due subordination in the navy and the objects of its service.

On the twenty-third of May, the red flag, the symbol of mutiny, was hoisted on board admiral Buckner's flag-ship, the Sandwich; to which every man of war sent two delegates; a committee of instruction, consisting of twelve members, being appointed in each ship: the delegates went on shore daily; and after holding their meetings, paraded the

streets and ramparts of the garrison with flags and music: at length, lord Keith and sir Charles Grey were despatched from the admiralty to Sheerness; when it was intimated to the refractory seamen, that their demands, being inconsistent with the good order and regulations necessary to the service, could not be complied with: but the behavior of the delegates was so audacious, that the commissioners departed without producing any effect on the mutineers; the more desperate of whom suggested an idea of carrying their ships into an enemy's port: the majority, however, revolted against so unpatriotic an act, alleging that a redress of grievances was their only object; and for the purpose of obtaining this, they proceeded to block up the Thames, by mooring four of their vessels across the river, and refusing a passage to the London trade: also, to supply their present wants, they took from a trading vessel 300 sacks of flour, which they distributed to the different crews.

On the fourth of June, they celebrated the king's birthday by a royal salute, and on the sixth, were joined by four ships of the line from admiral Duncan's squadron; which accession of strength swelled the rebellious fleet to twenty-four sail, consisting of eleven of the line and thirteen frigates. Government, in the mean time, was not inattentive to the perilous state of the country; and his majesty's pardon was in the first instance proclaimed to all such mutineers as should immediately return to their duty: this was speedily followed by two acts of parliament, for more effectually restraining intercourse between the revolted crews and the shore, and for punishing with extreme severity any attempt to seduce seamen or soldiers into mutinous conduct: besides, all the buoys, at the mouth of the Thames, as well as on the neighboring coasts, were removed;[2] and furnaces for heating shot were kept in readiness at Sheerness. While these transactions excited great alarm in the nation, each division of the fleet lying at Portsmouth and Plymouth addressed an exhortation to the seamen at the Nore, urging them to

[2] At the suggestion, it is said, of Mr. Sheridan.

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be content with the indulgences already granted by government, and return to their duty, without insisting on more concessions than had been demanded by the rest of the navy: these warnings, however, proved ineffectual; and the last attempt at reconciliation by treaty was made through lord Northesk, who had hitherto been kept confined on board his ship, the Monmouth; and whom they engaged to carry, and submit to his majesty, conditions on which they were willing to give up the ships: his lordship undertook this commission; but told them plainly, that from its unreasonableness, he could not flatter them with any hope of success: and so it turned out; for the terms, being submitted to the king in council, were instantly rejected. All hopes of accommodation being thus at an end, preparations were made at Sheerness to enforce obedience to the laws: but information being received by the mutineers, that the nation at large highly disapproved their acts, divisions took place among the delegates; and several ships, being reduced to great distress from the want of fresh provisions and water, deserted their colleagues: on the twelfth of June, all but seven hoisted the union flag; and, next morning, five of these ran under protection of the fort: farther resistance was now useless; so that, after a fruitless attempt to procure a general pardon, the crew of the Sandwich steered her into Sheerness, where about thirty of the delegates were arrested by a piquet guard of soldiers. Parker was tried by a court martial; and having had a patient hearing of three days, was condemned to be hanged; which sentence, after acknowleging its justice, he underwent with great intrepidity, on board the Sandwich, the scene of his usurped authority: many other of the ringleaders also received sentence of death, and several were executed; but mercy, either immediately, or at a more distant period, was extended to the rest. Having happily suppressed this insurrection of the sailors, government turned its attention to the army; which also, with great reason, complained of insufficient pay; for provisions and all other articles were rising, while the value of money

was decreasing through the issues of Bank paper: an augmentation was accordingly made, by which every soldier was to receive a shilling per day.

Agitations in Ireland.

Much agitation prevailed also at this time in Ireland, which was attributed by ministers to the dissemination of jacobinical principles; and by their antagonists to an arbitrary, coercive, unconstitutional system of government, which had been adopted since the recall of earl Fitzwilliam. In such a state of things, earl Moira moved an address, praying that his majesty would interfere to allay Irish discontents: but this was resisted, as an improper encroachment on the authority of the Irish parliament; and as tending to render the people disaffected toward their own legislature and government, whose conduct was conducive to their welfare: motions of the same kind were made in the house of commons, and rejected on similar grounds. In supporting their respective propositions, lord Moira and Mr. Fox strongly reprobated the system of terror carried on in the sister kingdom; describing the different bodies of men whom it tended to alienate from government, particularly presbyterians in the north, and Romanists in the south: their arguments, however, had no effect on the administration, which continued to support a system, styled by its approvers firmness, and by its opponents tyranny.

As ministers had declined in popularity since the failure of lord Malmesbury's negotiation, and many petitions had been sent to the king soliciting their dismissal, the opposition thought this a good opportunity of proposing addresses in both houses to his majesty, praying that they might be removed from his counsels. The grounds of attack and defence were the same as had frequently been discussed; including both the commencement and continuation of the war, its conduct and results, the financial system, the enormous increase of debt and taxes, the distresses of the country, and the failure of pacific negotiations: but all such motions were rejected by large majorities. Mr. Grey again brought forward a scheme for parliamentary reform, more definite and explicit than usual;

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proposing that the number of county members should be increased from 92 to 113, to be elected, not only by freeholders, but by copy and leaseholders; the remaining 400 members to be chosen by householders: a motion was also made in the house of peers, for inquiry into the state of the nation; but effectually opposed by ministers, as intended to produce a change of system, which they affirmed would be ruinous to the country. On the eighteenth of May, Charlotte Matilda, the princess royal, a young lady of great beauty, talent, and accomplishments, was married to Frederic William, hereditary prince of Wurtemburg; to whom parliament assigned £80,000 as her dowry. The session ended on the twentieth of July, having lasted between nine and ten months.

Marriage of the princess royal.

French descent on Wales.

Early this year, French menaces of invasion evaporated in a contemptible expedition, which disembarked about 1500 men, mostly criminals and vagabonds attired as soldiers, but without any artillery, in Cardigan-bay. The Welsh peasantry, animated by their gentry, and armed with scythes, sickles, and pitchforks, marched forth to meet these invaders; but lord Cawdor had assembled, in the course of a single day, a mixed force of 700 militia, fencibles, and yeomanry cavalry; to whom the French commander, after a short negotiation, capitulated on the twenty-sixth of February; while two frigates which accompanied the expedition were captured on their return to Brest: in other quarters, however, preparations were made on a more formidable scale.

Battle of Cape St. Vincent.

The republic, having now at its disposal the fleets of Holland and Spain, proposed to its confederates that the greater part of the Spanish navy should sail in the early part of the year to Brest; and then, accompanied by the French ships of war in that port, should form a junction with the Dutch fleet: after this, it was intended that the whole armada should bear down for the coast of England; and, by humbling the lofty pretensions of her naval power, pave the way to her ultimate subjugation. To frustrate this design, sir John Jervis was ordered to blockade

the port of Cadiz, and admiral Duncan sent to watch the movements of the Dutch in the Texel. Early in February, commodore Nelson, sailing through the straits of Gibraltar, fell in with the Spanish fleet, under Don Joseph de Cordova; and on the thirteenth, he communicated this intelligence to sir John Jervis; who, knowing his worth, transferred him to the Captain, of seventy-four guns: before sunset, signals were made to prepare for action, and to keep in close order during the night: at dawn of day on the fourteenth, the enemy's fleet was descried off Cape St. Vincent; but the weather being very hazy, it was not till ten o'clock that its force was discovered to consist of twenty-seven sail of the line; of which one was a four-decker, six were three-deckers, and two eighty-fours. The commander of this formidable armament had learned from an American, that the English admiral had only eight ships; which was really the case, when his informer had seen them; for a reinforcement of six, under admiral Parker, had not then joined, and the Culloden had then parted company: the Spaniard, therefore, instead of going into Cadiz, as was his intention when he left Carthagena, determined to seek an enemy so inferior in force; and he found him to his cost; though even when reinforced, the British admiral had only fifteen ships of the line, of which the largest were two of 100 guns, two of ninety-eight, and two of ninety; while the Spanish frigates were in the proportion of ten to four. When the day cleared, the enemy's fleet was somewhat scattered, while the British sailed in a compact body on the starboard tack; when sir John Jervis, by carrying a press of sail, passed through them, captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, leading between the eighteenth and nineteenth of the enemy's ships, and effectually cutting off nine, on his rear division: these attempted to form on the larboard tack, with a design to pass either through the British line, or to leeward of it, and rejoin their comrades: only one, however, succeeded; the rest meeting so warm a reception, that they put about, and took to flight, leaving the British commander at liberty to

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attack the main body of the enemy, which was still greatly superior to his fleet, especially in weight of metal. Sir John made the signal to tack in succession; but Nelson, whose station was in the rear of the line, quickly perceived that the Spaniards were bearing up before the wind, with an intention of forming their line, and joining their separated ships; or else of getting off without a battle: to prevent either of these schemes, he hesitated not to disobey the signal, and *wore;* by which means, he came at once into action with the enemy's four-decker Santissima Trinidada, the San Joseph, and Salvador del Mundo, of 112 guns each, the San Nicholas, eighty-four, and the San Isidore, seventy-four.[3] His example was followed by captain Collingwood in the Excellent; captain Troubridge, in the Culloden also nobly supported him; when for nearly two hours they sustained, what Nelson called, 'an apparently, but not really, unequal contest: the Blenheim, captain Frederick, then passing between them and their enemies, gave them a respite; the Salvador and San Isidore dropped astern; and were exposed to so tremendous a fire from the Excellent, that the San Isidore struck her colors to that ship, which instantly pushed on with all sail set to aid Nelson, who was exposed to the fire of five ships; the Blenheim being a head, and the Culloden astern in a crippled state: about this time, as the San Nicolas luffed up, after a terrible broadside from the Excellent, the San Joseph fell aboard her, and Nelson resumed his place alongside those two ships: but his own was so cut up, as to be totally useless in the line or chase: under these circumstances, he ordered out the boarders: when commander Berry, who had lately been Nelson's first lieutenant, gallantly led the way, by leaping into the enemy's mizen chains; and was supported from the spritsail yard, locked in the San Nicolas's rigging: lieutenant Pearson, who commanded a detachment of the sixty-ninth regiment, then doing duty on board as marines, instantly followed the noble example; but captain Miller, in the very act of going, was ordered

[3] Southey's Life of Nelson.

by Nelson to remain. A soldier of the sixty-ninth, having broken a window of the upper quarter-gallery, jumped in, followed by the commodore himself, and the others as fast as possible: the cabin was locked, and the Spanish officers fired their pistols at them through the windows; but the doors were soon forced; they pushed on to the deck, and found Berry in possession of the poop: the ship was now their own; but scarcely was there time to receive the sword of her captain, lying mortally wounded, before a sharp fire of pistols and musketry opened on them from the stern-gallery of the San Joseph. Nelson, having then placed sentinels at the different ladders, ordered captain Miller to send more men into the prize, from which he determined to board the San Joseph. 'Westminster-abbey, or victory!' was his exclamation, as he led the way, assisted into the enemy's main chains by his gallant friend, Berry; but at that moment, an officer, raising his head over the quarter-deck rail, said they surrendered: Nelson was soon on the quarter-deck, where the Spanish captain presented to him his sword, observing, that the admiral was below, dying of his wounds. While these exploits were going on, the admiral placed his own ship, the Victory, on the lee-quarter of the enemy's rearmost, the Salvador del Mundo, and poured in such a broadside, that the Spaniard, seeing the Barfleur coming up with a similar intention, struck his colors, and was captured: the Santissima Trinidada had been also completely silenced; but was unaccountably suffered to escape.

The enemy, however, had still more than twenty ships, which had suffered little or no injury; and part of the fleet which had been separated from the main body in the morning was now coming up; sir John Jervis therefore made a signal to bring to, and form the line, so as to cover the prizes and our own disabled ships; but, the Spaniards, not venturing to face the British in close conflict, retreated, leaving four vessels, one of 112 guns, one eighty-four, and two seventy-fours, to their captors.

Intelligence of this well-timed victory, by which the

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plan of three allied powers was so signally disconcerted, occasioned great joy throughout the nation: the fleet was honored with the thanks of both houses of parliament; the king conferred the title of earl St. Vincent, with a pension of £3000 a year, on the admiral-in-chief; vice-admiral Thompson and rear-admiral Parker were made baronets; commodore Nelson was invested with the order of the Bath; captain Robert Calder was knighted; gold medals and chains were presented to all the captains; and Berry was made post.[4] It is worthy of remark, that this victory, the smallest in extent, though as bravely gained as any during the war, was due to the prompt and daring conduct of Nelson; yet sir John Jervis was made an earl at once; while Nelson himself, after clearing the sea of all the navies in Europe which were opposed to England, died a viscount.[5]

Nelson, now a rear-admiral of the blue, was employed by his noble commander in the blockade of Cadiz, which place he bombarded on the twenty-third of June and third of July, but without much effect. On the latter of these occasions, the commander of the Spanish gun-boats, Don Miguel Tyrason, singling out the rear-admiral's barge, which was manned only by eleven men, beside Nelson and captain Freemantle, ran alongside it in his own boat, a powerful craft, with a crew of twenty-six picked seamen. The contest which ensued was one of the most desperate in the annals of this war; and many strokes, that would probably have been fatal to Nelson, were parried by a faithful fol-

[4] Without any interest, and solely by his own merit, he rose from the situation of mate, to this high rank, in two years and a half. With a keen insight into character, he saw that Nelson was opening a road to glory and renown for the British navy: he determined therefore to attach himself to that commander, and by dint of zealous exertions he got himself appointed first lieutenant on board his ship in the Miderranean, where he distinguished himself by numerous enterprises. Sir John Jervis was so struck with his merit, that he earnestly strove to retain him on board his own flag ship when he was going out; but finding him bent on pursuing his destination, he observed, as Mr. Berry left the Victory, 'There goes the best first lieutenant in the British service.' No officer served so much with Nelson, and no one secured so completely his regard; for, like his friend and commander, he was always foremost where honor was to be gained. In the action above described, Nelson enthusiastically spoke of his exertions as almost superhuman.

[5] This, as Mr. Southey justly observes 'was not to the honor of those by whom titles were then conferred.'

lower, named John Sykes: twice had this brave fellow saved his commander, when he saw a blow descending which would have cleft his skull: from the situation of the assailant he could not parry this with his cutlass; accordingly, with a devotedness never exceeded, he interposed his own head; and, falling back into the admiral's arms, smiled, as he uttered the words,—'Thank God, sir, you are safe!' This act, however, so excited the British crew, that they were irresistible; and, having instantly boarded the Spanish craft, they quickly carried her, leaving not a single man on board that was not killed or wounded: but although the bombardment of Cadiz produced little effect, the vanquished fleet was watched so closely, that not a ship dare venture beyond range of the batteries erected for its defence.

Soon afterwards, Nelson sailed at the head of an expedition against Teneriffe, owing to a report that the viceroy of Mexico had arrived there with the treasure ships; but, as this was unfounded, the scheme was given up: a homeward-bound Manilla ship, however, put into Santa Cruz at this time; which occasioned an expedition of four ships of the line and three frigates to be sent, under the same energetic commander, against that port; but, unfortunately, no troops had been embarked. In a dark night, on the twenty-fourth of July, the Fox cutter, having 180 men aboard, and the boats of the squadron, containing about 800 seamen and marines, headed by Nelson, pushed forward in six divisions for the mole: most of them, however missed it, and went on shore through a raging surf: the admiral's boat, with those of captains Freemantle, Thompson, Bowen, and four or five others, found the mole, stormed, carried it, and then spiked its guns; but Nelson, in the act of stepping on shore, received a shot through the elbow, which occasioned the loss of his right arm. So heavy a fire of grape and musketry was now kept up from the citadel and houses at the head of the mole, that the assailants, unable to advance, were nearly all killed or wounded: the rest prepared to retreat; but had the misfortune to find all their

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boats destroyed by the surge, while a general shriek was heard from the crew of the Fox, which received a shot under water, and instantly went down. In such a situation, when every street was commanded by field-pieces, and several thousands of Spanish troops were approaching by all avenues, the British, who were collected, to the number of 340, in the great square, received a summons to surrender: this, however, was disdainfully refused by captain Troubridge, who, on Nelson's fall, had succeeded to the command; but he declared to the governor, through captain Samuel Hood, whom he despatched with a flag of truce, that if the Spaniards advanced an inch farther, he was prepared to fire the city; which he would spare on condition of being allowed peaceably to re-embark, with an exchange of prisoners: these terms, after a short interval, were accepted by the Spanish commander, Don Antonio Gutierrez, who not only sent our men on board in his own boats, but generously supplied them with provisions and wine, and ordered all the British wounded to be received into the hospitals of Santa Cruz. Nelson, deeply impressed with a sense of the governor's humanity, exchanged presents with him, and offered to take charge of his despatches for the Spanish government; by which means he actually became the first messenger to Spain of his own defeat; in which the loss of lives was nearly equal to that in the battle of Cape St. Vincent. A few months before, the Spanish island of Trinidad had capitulated to six sail of the line, with troops on board, under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie and admiral Harvey: but the same commanders made an unsuccessful attempt on Porto Rico, which was found too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*.

The most successful naval action of this year still remains to be described. The Dutch had made vast preparations in the Texel; with a view, as it was supposed, of joining the Brest fleet, and invading Ireland; but the presence of admiral Duncan rendered it impracticable for them to come out, without risking an engagement. A violent storm having driven the

British fleet to Yarmouth roads about the autumnal equinox, the Batavian government took that opportunity of ordering their admiral, De Winter, to put to sea, in hopes that he might effect a junction with their allies by eluding the vigilance of their opponent: apprised, however, by signals from his advanced cruisers, that the Dutch fleet had left the Texel, Duncan set sail on the tenth of October; and reaching the coast of Holland late in the evening, stationed his squadron so as to prevent the enemy from regaining their position: on the eleventh, he descried them ranged in order of battle, on the larboard tack, between Egmont and Camperdown; the land being about nine miles to leeward. His fleet, consisting of sixteen sail, exclusive of frigates, was heavier in metal than that of the enemy; and, to prevent them from approaching nearer to the shore, he determined instantly to break their line, and engage them to leeward: this admirable movement was speedily executed; and about twelve o'clock a close action commenced, in which Duncan's division attacked the van of the enemy, while that of Onslow engaged the rear. The British admiral lay nearly three hours along side De Winter's ship in an obstinate and destructive combat; nor did the latter strike his flag before all his masts fell overboard, and half his crew were killed or wounded: the Dutch vice-admiral did not yield to his opponent, vice-admiral Onslow, until his ship was reduced to the same condition; and when, about four o'clock, the battle terminated in a decisive victory for the English, almost every ship of the enemy was found to be in a disabled state. As our fleet was by this time within five miles of the shore, lined with spectators of their country's misfortune, the admiral's chief care was to prevent his ships from being caught on the shallows: this necessary precaution, and the approach of night, obliging him to discontinue the pursuit, saved a remnant of the enemy's fleet from capture: no fewer, however, were taken than eight ships of the line, two of fifty-six guns, and two frigates. This grand victory, in which the Dutch lost, in killed and wounded, near 1500 of

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their best seamen, completely frustrated the maritime projects of France, and showed how vain were all her efforts to humble the British navy: the thanks of parliament greeted the arrival of our seamen: their venerable commander was raised to the peerage by the title of viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, with a pension of £3000 per annum; Onslow was created a baronet, and captains Trollope and Fairfax knights banneret. The king, in consideration of this and the other signal victories that had crowned our fleets, ordered a general thanksgiving throughout the realm: accompanied by both houses of parliament, his majesty repaired in solemn procession to St. Paul's on the nineteenth of December, when the colors taken from our enemies were carried before their sovereign by his valiant sailors.

Victorious career of Napoleon.

At the commencement of this year, the Austrian general, Alvinzi, reinforced with 50,000 troops, among which were numbers of the best-born youths of Vienna, bearing standards worked by the empress herself, made a strenuous attempt to recover the fortune of the war; and the pope also raised troops to support him: again, however, he had the temerity to divide his forces; the principal division, under his own command, descending by his old route from the Tyrol, between the Adige and the lake; while the other took a circuit down the Brenta to relieve Mantua. Bonaparte, who had been for some time at Bologna, only hesitated until he was certain of his adversary's plans; and then took an advantageous central post at Rivoli, on a lofty plain above the Adige, between that river and the alpine Montebaldo: in this strong position Alvinzi attacked him on all sides, but was repulsed, routed, and scattered by the bravery of the French soldiers and the skill of their commander: the other division of the Austrian army, under Provera, fought its way to the walls of Mantua; but Wurmser in vain endeavored to form a junction with these important succors by a sortie: he was beaten back; and Provera, being also defeated, laid down his arms: the surrender of Mantua, in February, terminated Bonaparte's first campaign,

which has, perhaps, never been surpassed for brilliancy of exploits, if we consider the armies beaten, and the unequal numbers with which the victories were gained.

Not tarrying even to receive the sword of Wurmser, Napoleon headed his legions, which were on their march toward Rome, to chastise the pope for his military demonstrations. At Imola, the Roman forces, exhorted by their priests, made a respectable stand, but were of course routed: when imperial Austria was driven from the field, the sovereign pontiff could have no hope but in submission; and Napoleon, more generous than the directory, who had exhorted him to crush the high priest of superstition, granted him political existence, on the condition of his surrendering the Legations and Ancona, with more works of art, and payment of a contribution.

The French government, aware that another victory would place Austria at its feet, and expecting to obtain this by means of its Italian army, had rejected the pacific overtures of Great Britain: they now despatched Bernadotte with 30,000 troops to reinforce Bonaparte; while Hoche was sent to supersede Pichegru on the Lower Rhine. Ere the confines of Italy were left, and the Tyrolian Alps passed, it was necessary to secure the neutrality of Venice: this was promised; but the state found it difficult to fulfil its engagement; since the principles of the French were more hostile to aristocracy than to monarchy; and though a large party in the Venetian towns were favorable to the new doctrines, yet the Sclavonian troops employed by the government, and the bigoted peasantry, were strongly adverse to them.

Bonaparte crossed the Alps early in March: the archduke Charles was now his opponent; but, as usual, the promised reinforcements had not arrived in time: the principal stand made by the Austrians was on the banks of the Tagliamento, the passage of which, after a sharp action, was forced by the French, who drove back their adversaries, occupying town after town, until in less than three weeks they arrived within

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twenty-four leagues of Vienna. Here, however, they were destined to stop: jealous of Napoleon's success, or deterred by the dissentions now breaking out in Paris, the directory stayed the progress of its armies on the Rhine, without whose co-operation it would have been imprudent in that of Italy to advance: Bonaparte therefore sent to the archduke proposals of peace; and after some delay, the Austrian court signed a preliminary treaty, or armistice, at Leoben, on the eighteenth of April.

Meantime, an insurrection of the democratic party in the Venetian towns of Brescia and Bergamo had broken out: the senate in its turn raised the mountaineers and anti-revolutionary peasants; who feeling themselves authorised by the ruling powers, proceeded to every species of atrocity; the French were not spared: 'Death to Frenchmen!' 'death to jacobins!' being their rallying cries. On Easter Monday, the aristocratic party rose on them at Verona; and, headed by the priests, massacred all they met with, even to the sick within the hospitals: more than 400 Frenchmen are said to have perished; but the knell of Venice itself was now rung: Bonaparte, who had at Leoben meditated and proposed a dismemberment of the Venetian territory, was spared the blame of unwarranted spoliation; and having announced to the directory that the hour of this ferocious and sanguinary government was come, he brought his cannon up to the edge of the lagoons: the panic-struck senate and pusillanimous doge, terrified by his menaces, passed a decree to dissolve their ancient constitution, and establish a species of municipal democracy that soon produced tumults, which the French were called in to quell; and then fell Venice in its dotage, after a political existence of more than 1000 years. Genoa, a name dearer to liberty, was destined to retain an independent government for a short time longer, under the name of the Ligurian republic.

Political commotions in Paris.

While the army of Italy was immortalising itself, a new convulsion shook the ruling powers in Paris: a considerable reaction in favor of royalty had generally

taken place; and the re-elected members of the legislative body, partaking of this sentiment, had formed a powerful party in the councils against the directory: these, being supported by the newly-formed Clichy club, (so called from the street of that name, in which its meetings were held,) and headed by Pichegru, aimed at repealing the most violent of the revolutionary laws, to heal, as they said, the wounds of the country; while the directorial party stigmatised their exertions as counter-revolutionary and favorable to monarchy: thus it happened that the legislative and executive powers held different opinions; and as the constitution had provided no means for restoring harmony, anarchy became once more a probable result. Bonaparte had long observed the struggle that was going on: all the officers who returned from Paris to the army complained of that spirit of reaction which they had noticed; and he was constantly urged by his correspondents to take a part in public affairs. He despised the directors, whom he accused of weakness, indecision, and want of feeling for the national glory; but as he also knew that he was odious to a majority in the councils, while the Clichy party demanded even his dismissal and arrest, and as he did not think he had accomplished enough to authorise any attempt to gain the sovereignty, he determined to join for the present that party to which the greater portion of the nation adhered: he prepared therefore to march on Paris with 25,000 men, should affairs take a turn unfavorable to the republic.[6] Napoleon, says his biographer, viewed the establishment of peace as the close of his military career: repose and inactivity were to him intolerable: he sought to take a part in the civil affairs of the republic, and was desirous of becoming a member of the directory; knowing that in such a case he should soon stand alone: the fulfilment of this wish would have prevented the Egyptian expedition; but the directors were not anxious to have him for their colleague: they dissembled; and so did he; each party lavishing assurances of friendship on the other, while

[6] See De Bourrienne's Memoirs, English edition, vol. i. p. 78.

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mutual hatred filled their hearts. The directory, however, was soon compelled to appeal to Bonaparte for support: he granted it; sending Lavalette to Paris, with a private cypher, to conduct his correspondence; and Augereau to second, by his military talents, and love of republican principles, the blow prepared against the legislative opposition. On the sixteenth of Fructidor, (September 4) that blow was struck: under pretence of a review, troops were brought to the capital, and placed at the disposal of Augereau; who surrounded the Tuilleries, where the councils sat, and arrested the opposition members: the minority in those councils then assembled, and issued a decree declaring the elections of more than half the departments of France annulled: seventy of the most distinguished deputies among the royalists and constitutionalists were condemned to transportation; while two of the directors themselves, Carnot and Barthelemi, were included in this proscription by their colleagues. Carnot concealed himself, and escaped; but Pichegru and Barthelemi were transported to Cayenne.

The ruling party, whose reign was thus prolonged for a few years, so abused their power by reviving the revolutionary system, and so offended Bonaparte by their jealousy and ingratitude,—endeavoring to set up Augereau to supplant him, and filling his head-quarters with spies,—that he sent in his resignation: this was a bold stroke of policy; for the directors were soon obliged, as he anticipated, to soothe his resentment, and supplicate him to continue in command of the army. Then came on the treaty of Campo Formio, which had been delayed at first through the desire of Austria to profit by royalist factions in the councils, and which was now in danger of being broken off by the rancor and ambition of the directorial government: the hopes of one party had been destroyed by the revolution of Fructidor; the project of the other was counteracted by the decision of Bonaparte.

Treaty of Campo Formio.

This personage held something like a court in Italy, waiting till the tardy diplomacy of Austria should consent to accept a disadvantageous peace. At the

different stages of victory, he had parcelled out the states of Italy into republics; but time and conquest enlarged his designs together with his ambition; while the subjugation of Venice materially changed the views which had dictated the preliminary treaty of Leoben. By that treaty it had been arranged that Austria, in recompense for the Netherlands, was to receive the Venetian provinces to the Oglio, including Mantua: under present circumstances, Napoleon proposed that the Adige should form a boundary; and that, instead of Mantua, the hapless state of Venice, which had armed for the sake of Austria, as well as Istria and Dalmatia, should be annexed to its dominions: the transfer was accepted; and Austria by this act showed, that the diplomacy of the old monarchy was, in the spirit of Machiavelism, not far behind that of the new republic. In return for these possessions, France obtained the Netherlands, and the Greek islands belonging to Venice in the Adriatic; an acknowlegement of the Cisalpine republic;[7] and an indemnification for the duke of Modena in Brisgau. There were some secret conditions annexed to this treaty; the most important of which were, the acquiescence of Austria in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France, from Basle to Andernach, with the city of Mayence; the navigation of the Rhine rendered common to both parties; mutual compensation for all that France might hereafter obtain in the German empire; a mutual guarantee against any farther acquisitions by Prussia, after the restoration of its possessions on the left bank of the Rhine; and indemnification in Germany to the several princes or states on that bank, who might be injured. It was also agreed that a congress should be held at Radstadt for settling the peace of the empire.

Thus France remained in possession of Savoy, Nice, Avignon, and Belgium; while she was mistress of Italy and Holland; and could reckon on the dependence of the German empire, owing to cessions on the left bank of the Rhine: the republic of Venice disap-

[7] Into which the Transpadane and Cispadane republics had merged.

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peared from the number of European states: the German empire, abandoned secretly by Austria as it had before been by Prussia, looked anxiously forward to its fate: the vile government of the Roman church, and the miserable kingdom of Naples, were tottering to their very foundations: Spain, with all its resources, was wholly in the hands of France; against the power and influence of which country the autocrat of the north was now looked up to as the great continental antagonist. Russia indeed, aggrandised by Polish partitions, and thus brought geographically nearer to western Europe, was preparing to take a share in the war of the revolution: from this time the ancient separation between northern and southern states rapidly disappeared, and gave way to the formation of one political system. Between France and Russia stood Prussia, weakened by an extravagant administration, about to become a neighbor of both those countries, and doubting to which of them she should attach herself; while the little country of Portugal remained faithful to her old alliance with England, unconscious of the high place she was destined to occupy in the deliverance of Europe, as well as of that state of extreme debasement into which she was eventually to fall. Such was the situation of continental powers at this period; and such the change in their respective relations to each other. Great Britain still remained mistress of the ocean; and by extending her colonies and commerce in every quarter of the globe, was augmenting those means, by which she was enabled to wield a mighty combination of forces against the power of France, and finally to overthrow her antagonist.

Negotiations at Lille.

Left almost alone in the contest by the retreat of Austria, and perceiving marks of timidity and bad faith even in Portugal, her ancient ally, this country renewed pacific negotiations with France on the first of June; though it is clear enough that Pitt and Canning suffered themselves to be duped by the artifices of the directory, who had the same causes as before, and even stronger, to prolong the war. As many parties in France were desirous of negotiations the directors

were constrained to commence them; but it was with a determination to prolong them no longer than until they could, by aid of a military force, set their opponents at defiance. The city of Lille being fixed on for a conference, lord Malmesbury was again sent thither, although the French minister intimated that a different choice would have been more satisfactory to the republic, as well as more favorable to the conclusion of peace. The following was the project submitted by his lordship to the French commissioners, one of whom was the celebrated Maret, afterwards duke of Bassano; —that Spain should cede to Great Britain the colony of Trinidad, and that Holland should relinquish the Cape of Good Hope, as well as Cochin, and all her possessions in Ceylon: in return for these, Great Britain would give up every other settlement taken from France and her allies: our minister also required that the prince of Orange should be indemnified for the loss of the United Provinces, and of his personal property; and that Portugal should be included in the treaty. To these proposals it was replied, that, previously to entering on the main business, three concessions were requisite: first, that his Britannic majesty should renounce the title of king of France; secondly, that the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon should be restored, or restitution made; and thirdly, that any mortgage which England might have on the Low Countries, in consequence of money lent to the emperor, should be given up. Lord Malmesbury, after various observations on these unexpected claims, undertook to transmit them to his court for consideration; but before he could receive an answer, the French commissioners, on the fifteenth of July, addressed a note to his lordship, stating that their government, unable to detach itself from engagements contracted with its allies, the Batavian republic and Spain, required, as an indispensable preliminary, the consent of his Britannic majesty to restore all possessions which he held from those countries, as well as France. This was, in effect, to put an end at once to business; for it proposed cessions on one side, without any com-

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pensation on the other; and so lord Malmesbury intimated to the commissioners: but during the pause occasioned by this extraordinary proposition, the crisis and change in the French directory, above described, took place; which events led to the recall of the French commissioners then at Lille, and the appointment of citizens Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco to conduct the negotiation. Immediately after their first interview with the British minister on the thirteenth of September, he was questioned on the subject of the proposals made by their predecessors, and was farther required to return an explicit answer in the course of the day. Unmoved by this insolent demand, his lordship, on the sixteenth, addressed a note to the French negotiators, intimating, that he neither could nor ought to treat, except on the just and honorable principle of reciprocal compensation; and the same day he was apprised by them of a decree issued by the directory, purporting, that if lord Malmesbury should not have the necessary powers for consenting to all restitutions which the laws and treaties binding the French republic rendered indispensable, he must return within twenty-four hours to his court in order to obtain them. The obvious answer to this imperious message was a note from his lordship to demand his passports: before he set out, however, another meeting took place; in which he strongly pressed the French ministers to recall their late unwarrantable proposals; but without effect: he therefore took his departure from Lille on the eighteenth of September.

Whatever may be thought respecting the rupture of the first negotiation, as imputable to England or France, the historian may safely affirm, that this abrupt conclusion of the second arose from the French republic. Its hostility had been strongly inflamed against Great Britain by the events of the present war: irresistibly triumphant in all other quarters, France had experienced effectual opposition from this country: resentment therefore and pride equally stimulated her to obtain a superiority in the conflict over England as well as the rest of Europe: republican energy invigo-

rated her immense military force; and recent victories at home and abroad enabled her government to employ all the national spirit and resources against the only enemy which the dissolution of the confederacy had now left: the inclinations thus excited were kept alive and cherished by her most brilliant and persuasive orators; England was represented as another Carthage, whose power was founded on the unstable ground of commercial prosperity, which France, like Rome, was destined to overthrow by her military force. Strong indications of this feeling appeared, when the conqueror of Italy arrived in Paris to receive the homage of its citizens: among other spectacles brought out in his honor, was an opera, intitled, 'The Fall of Carthage:'[8] Barras, then president, at a public audience, urged the warrior not to repose, but to undertake the conquest of England: the name of the army of England was given to a vast assemblage of troops, and the command conferred on Napoleon, who lost no time in surveying the coast, for the purpose of forming an opinion regarding the probability of a successful invasion.[9] His keen eye soon perceived that in a voyage across the channel his own glory would probably be shipwrecked: but England's dominion was widely extended; and though invulnerable at home, she might still be attacked abroad: he knew well the revolutions of commercial prosperity which had taken place in the world: he knew how that prosperity might still be drawn off from their new possessors through the ancient channels, by any country which should obtain possession of Egypt, and a predominating power in the Levant: his imagination fired at the idea; and the plan of an Egyptian expedition, previously entertained, even amidst his Italian triumphs,[10] became firmly rooted in his mind.

[8] Bourrienne, vol. i. p. 122, English edition.

[9] At the conclusion of their journey, Bourrienne asked him what opinion he had formed; and the sensible reply of Napoleon is stated to have been as follows:—'It is too great a chance: I will not hazard it: I would not thus sport with the fate of dear France.'—Memoirs, vol. i. p. 127.

[10] 'In the month of August, 1797,' says Bourrienne, 'he wrote, that the time was not far distant, when we should see, that to destroy the power of England effectually, it would be necessary to attack Egypt.'—vol. i. p. 127.

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Riots in Scotland.

Before parliament met, that spirit of discontent, which had existed in various parts of Scotland ever since the diffusion of revolutionary doctrines, was brought into alarming action by a general misapprehension of the militia act, which was considered by the ignorant peasantry as connected with the pressing system, compelling the persons drawn to become soldiers: the tumults thence occasioned, rose in many secluded districts, especially in the highlands of Perthshire, to such a height, as to overawe the civil magistrates, and for a time to suspend all regular government. Intelligence of the resistance made by the lowlanders to the act reached these higher latitudes about the beginning of September, and in two days the whole country was a scene of confusion: most of the gentlemen, to preserve their property, yielded to the mandates of the mob, taking oaths and engagements, which were forced on them, to resist the oppression; and this concession to lawless violence had the worst effects. Fortunately, the duke of Athol, then lord-lieutenant of the county, was a man of prudence and resolution: his own seat was in imminent danger; but after calmly expostulating with the rioters, he succeeded in dispersing some, and intimidating others by a powerful show of resistance, until he could procure military aid; by which means he succeeded in capturing the ringleaders, and putting down the insurrection.

Meeting of parliament.

On the second of November parliament assembled; and his majesty, when he announced the failure of the late negotiation, declared that he still retained an ardent desire of terminating the war. When the speech came to be taken into consideration by the commons, opposition benches no longer exhibited their usual occupants: finding all their counsels rejected, and their resistance unavailing, the whole party, with some few exceptions, had resolved to withdraw from the house, and leave their antagonists to pursue their own system of policy without control; alleging that they were weary of attending merely to be outvoted, and reproached by ministerial hirelings as enemies of

their country. Under these circumstances, the address on the king's speech passed both houses without a division: another also was carried, almost unanimously, applauding the conduct of government, and expressing a firm determination to support his majesty to the utmost, and to stand or fall with the religion, laws, and liberties of the country. The nation at large also considered that the concessions offered at Lille went as far as equity required; and that the claims of the French republic were unreasonable and unjust: consequently a large portion of the people manifested a renewal of zeal in the prosecution of the war, which was now considered a measure of self-defence; while the secession of opposition from parliament, being disapproved of by numbers, tended to increase the popularity of ministers.

The existing restrictions on cash payments at the Bank were continued by an act of this session; and on the twenty-second of November, the minister, encouraged by public sentiment in his favor, proposed a new financial scheme to parliament. The whole expense of the year amounted to £25,000,0000; of which sum £6,500,000 would arise from the unappropriated produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes; of the remaining nineteen millions therefore he proposed to raise seven within the year, in order to prevent that increase of permanent debt from which our enemies anticipated the downfall of our credit: this was to be effected by trebling the assessed taxes, under certain limitations; one of which would prevent any person from being rated higher than a tenth of his income: he did not mean to say that the funding system was exhausted: he merely wished to husband that resource; while his present plan would tend to damp the hopes of the enemy, and show to Europe that the resources of Great Britain could rise in proportion to her exigences.

Great opposition was made to this scheme and Mr. Fox was requested by his constituents to attend in his place for the purpose of attacking it; so ready are the people, as well as their rulers, to throw from their

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shoulders every possible burden which they can leave to posterity. Among the animadversions made on this financial plan by Tierney, Sheridan, Curwen, and others, those of Mr. Nicholls, to whom every English historian is indebted for his 'Political Recollections,' were particularly distinguished. 'I oppose the tax,' he said, 'because not necessary: I think the tax not necessary, because I think the continuance of the war not necessary: I think the continuance of the war not necessary, because sincere endeavors have never yet been employed to obtain peace. Why do I say this? because some among his majesty's ministers never can have employed sincere endeavors to obtain peace, except they have relinquished those principles on which they involved us in the war; and if I may argue from language held on a former night, when this bill was under consideration, they have not abandoned those principles.' This was said in explanation of the following passage, the tenor of which had been so remarkably fulfilled, and for which the honorable gentleman was called to order by the speaker. 'I recollect the language of the secretary at war,[11] on a former night; that if peace brought reform, that reform he should consider as revolution. As a loyal subject, the right honorable secretary cannot wish for a revolution; and if he thinks reform synonymous with revolution, he cannot wish for that peace, which he and all men see must necessarily produce reform. Some of those now in his majesty's cabinet have involved the country in war, not from a dread of the power of France, but from jealousy of the commons of England: they fear that the commons of England may be influenced by the example of France to claim their rights; to claim that no peer should interfere in the election of a member of the house of commons; that every member of this house should sit by the election of a body of the commonalty; and that it should become, what the law has directed it to be, the actual representative of all the commons of England. This is a ground of terror to peers, proprietors of

Speech of Mr. Nicholls.

[11] Mr. Windham.

boroughs; and there are some among his majesty's ministers who are infected with this fear.' The honorable member also argued against the imposition of the tax, from the character of the minister to whom the produce was to be entrusted. 'He denied that our chancellor of the exchequer had abilities necessary to save the country: he had no wish to injure his reputation, or to deny his talents in debate, for which he possessed sarcasm, sneers, irony, and wit; more especially the skill of multiplying and stringing together words, so that it was hardly possible to affix a precise meaning to them: to this he joined a happy talent of misrepresenting the arguments of his adversaries, and great dexterity in cheering the pretorian bands around him; who were ready to laugh whenever he gave the signal by a smile: but, had he one of the qualities that constitute a great statesman? was he an able war minister, a skilful financier, or a successful negotiator? His very friends acknowleged that he was not an able war minister; and how could they avoid it? Beginning the contest with all the powers of Europe on his side, he so conducted it, that every ally had abandoned us, or been subdued; while France had been exalted to a power almost beyond the dreams of ambition. View him,' said Mr. Nicholls, 'as a financier: the funding system exhausted by his folly, in supposing there were no limits to the supply afforded by the money-market; a paper currency established; taxes on consumption no longer practicable; while recourse is had to a requisition on income, though he himself acknowleges that it will be unequal, and therefore unjust; that it will destroy the employment of the artisan, diminish the present revenue, and by so doing weaken the security of the fundholder. Then what is he as a negotiator? he tells you himself that he has three times attempted to make peace; always sincerely, but always unsuccessfully. View him as a statesman, beginning with the autumn of 1789, when the French king was carried prisoner to Paris. A great statesman would have seen that this was a moment of no little consequence to England: he would have seen that the

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French government was in a state of dissolution, incapable of resisting any pacific plans of the British minister; and that he might carry into effect many measures beneficial to his country: but what was his conduct? His first measure, in 1790, was a foolish dispute with Spain, ill-conducted and disgracefully terminated; when he might have convinced her, that, the Bourbons being dethroned in France, it was now the interest of Spain to renew her ancient, natural, and national alliance with this country. In the year following, another foolish contest with Russia. In 1792, Austria and Prussia invaded France; yet he neither assisted the invaders, nor conciliated the confidence of the French. In 1793, he became engaged in the war; and how has he conducted it? One of his great political measures was to starve France; a measure, which any man of the least reflection must have seen, would, if successful, have produced a famine here. If France became distressed for corn, and this country abounded, it was obvious she would draw grain from us, by the assistance of the smuggler; while, if both countries wanted corn, England would find France her competitor in every market: but I will rest my opinion of him, as a statesman, on the late negotiation; I mean after the fourth of September; after his paltry intrigue to overturn the French government had failed. He knew that Austria would make a separate peace, if this country determined to continue the war; he knew, that in consequence of that peace, France would establish her ascendency in Italy and the Mediterranean; while Portugal and Germany, as well as Spain and Holland, would stand in awe of her power; he knew the situation of Ireland; he knew that he had exhausted the funding system; that he had been obliged to have recourse to the perilous measure of paper money; that he could no longer lay taxes on consumption, and that he must have recourse to this new method of a requisition on income; yet, knowing all this, he wanted the political wisdom to see that England ought to make peace in conjunction with Austria; that if we were the last to

relinquish war, we should make peace on the most disadvantageous terms: but he determined to expose us to all hazards, in hopes of retaining Trinidad, the Cape of Good Hope, and Trincomalee.

'It has been said by an honorable alderman, that although the bill is odious, those he converses with fear nothing so much as the removal of the chancellor of the exchequer: possibly this is true: those who profit by the wasteful expenditure of public money, can never find a minister more suited to their wishes. When the chancellor of the exchequer was first advanced to power, it is not surprising that he was viewed with partiality: we remembered his father's virtues, talents, and services: we can easily believe what we wish; and we were willing to believe that the country would derive much benefit from the son's administration: we had observed, that in the father, the talents of the statesman had been accompanied with the powers of eloquence: we admired the fluency with which the son addressed this house; and from his resemblance to his father in that faculty, we presumed that he resembled him in all the qualities of a statesman: but casual observers did not remark the difference between the father's eloquence and the sons: in the father, political wisdom was the groundwork, eloquence the result; he spoke forcibly, because he had reflected deeply: in the son, the art of talking is the groundwork; and he has never acquired political wisdom.'

Other speakers represented this new scheme of finance as similar in principle to the exactions of Robespierre, and from its retrospective operation more iniquitous: it was said to be a change of system, imposing an immense burden on the people, without producing any advantage: the funding system was not exhausted; the difficulty attending great loans, was that of providing the interest: but how could ministers insist on this, when they were imposing so large a sum on the country in one year? the measure would be as oppressive in operation, as it was unjust in principle.

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Ministers answered that the funding system was not abandoned; since only a comparatively small part of the supplies this year were to be raised by the new mode; that assessed taxes, resulting from probable expenditure, were a fair criterion of income; and that various modifications would prevent the inconveniences apprehended. During the progress of the bill, a clause was introduced by the speaker, to admit voluntary contributions toward the general defence of the country, now menaced with invasion: and the sum thus raised amounted to £1,500,000; to which the Bank of England contributed £200,000, his majesty £20,000, and the queen £5000. Many were the noble offerings made on this occasion by corporate bodies and private individuals, noted for their ancient possessions or commercial opulence; while the defenders of our shores by sea and land vied with each other in this honorable contest: nor were the contributions less gratifying which flowed from tradesmen, mechanics, and servants; who thus showed their attachment to a constitution, which guards the fruit of humble industry with as much care and equity as the splendid inheritance of the highest nobility: even children sacrificed the means of gratification or amusement, to show their love for that country which they might be called on to defend in a maturer age.

Before we close the annals of this year, we must advert once more to the western squadron, under sir Edward Pellew, employed during the summer in watching the harbor of Brest; which service was performed so much to the annoyance of the French commander, that he sent a squadron to ride at single anchor in Bertheaume-bay, for the purpose of preventing the frigates from reconnoitring the port: this squadron chased the Indefatigable and her consorts repeatedly, but without being able to bring them to action, or to drive them from their station: once, however, the Cleopatra frigate narrowly escaped capture, being becalmed close inshore, with the Indefatigable two miles to seaward, and another frigate between them; when a light air rose, and freshened,

off the land: immediately the French ships slipped anchor, and neared the Cleopatra; a frigate actually cutting off her retreat, while a seventy-four was fast coming up. Just then, when her fate appeared inevitable, the Indefatigable made the well-known signal for 'a fleet in sight,' by letting fly her sheets, and firing two guns in quick succession. As Ushant was on her weather bow, the enemy naturally supposed that the British ships were coming up from behind the island; and, putting about quickly, hastened back to their anchorage. On the twenty-sixth of August, sir Edward joined lord Bridport in Torbay; at which time he offered to conduct an attack, daring indeed in its conception, but which, if it had been executed with success, would have surpassed the most brilliant results of naval enterprise. Observing the weakness of the French government arising out of the struggle of parties, and having an extensive and intimate knowlege of the coast, he proposed to go into Brest harbor with his frigates, and destroy the dismantled fleet which lay there. He thought it very probable that he should succeed; and he strongly urged the greatness of the object; while the only risk run was the loss of a few frigates: but lord Bridport was meanly jealous of the independent squadrons, and found occasion to prevent the admiralty from accepting the proposal of an officer, who was not a man to commit himself rashly to what he had not well considered.[12] It is justly observed by lord Exmouth's biographer, 'that there is a faith in naval affairs which almost works impossibilities; and it has been generally found, that the officer who can plan a bold action, has shown himself equal to accomplish it.'

Affairs on the continent.

On the sixteenth of November died Frederic William II., king of Prussia: he was succeeded by Frederic William III., who introduced considerable reforms into the court and ministry; though no material change took place in the organisation of the state, or its foreign relations. The congress met at Radstadt, on the ninth of December, under melancholy

[12] Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 176.

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auspices for the empire, which could only be supported by the closest union of Austria and Prussia, whom new projects and new prospects kept asunder; while the surrender of Mayence, with the seizure of Ehrenbreitstein, during the negotiations, which lasted till April 1799, showed prospectively the situation of Germany. Among the minor events of diplomacy, it may be mentioned to the credit of Bonaparte, that chiefly through his interference, the marquis de la Fayette and his companions were released from prison at Olmutz, where they had been treated with that rigor and refined cruelty which have long rendered the Austrian government infamous in the eyes of Europe.

CHAPTER XLI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1798.

Redemption of the land-tax—Bill for supplementary militia; armed associations of volunteers—Bill for manning the navy—Duel between Mr. Pitt and Tierney—Second estimate of supplies—Slave trade—Offer of militia regiments to serve in Ireland—Origin, conduct, and close of the Irish rebellion—French attempts on Ireland unsuccessful—Plan of the Egyptian expedition—French attack on Switzerland—Expedition departs from Toulon—Capture of Malta—Arrival at Alexandria—Capture of Grand Cairo—Sir Horatio Nelson appointed to pursue the French fleet, &c.—Manœuvres previous to the battle of the Nile—Defeat of the French fleet—Political effects of this action—Unsuccessful attempt against Ostend—Capture of Minorca—Loss of St. Domingo—Meeting of parliament, and king's speech—General measures—Army, navy, and supplies—Income tax—Treaty with Russia—Mr. Tierney's motion, and Canning's reply—Subsidy voted to the emperor Paul, &c.—New coalition—Joined by Austria—State of Italy—Occupation of Rome by French troops, &c.—Affairs of Naples—Capital occupied by French troops—Flight of the king and queen to Palermo—Consideration of the union with Ireland.

Parliamentary measures.

ANOTHER important measure of finance, proposed and carried by Mr. Pitt early this session, was the redemption of the land-tax: its object was to absorb a large portion of stock, and convert a considerable quantity of national debt into a landed security. The annual revenue at this time, proceeding from the tax, amounted to £2,000,000; which it was proposed to sell at twenty years purchase, when the three per cent. consols were at fifty, subject to a rise in price, according to the rise of stocks: £40,000,000, the present amount of the land-tax at twenty years' purchase, would amount to £80,000,000, three per cent. stock, affording an inte-

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rest of £2,400,000, and leaving an annual gain to the public of £400,000. The person buying his share of the tax would obtain a landed security of his property, and at a very favorable rate; while £80,000,000 of capital would be advantageously taken out of the market: the purchase was, for simplification, to be made in stock, not in money; and the proprietor of the land was to have the right of pre-emption until the expiration of a certain period. This scheme encountered strong objections from those members of opposition who still continued their attendance in the house: in particular, it was said, that by consenting to vote the land-tax perpetual, parliament would give up one of its greatest checks on the profuse expenditure of public money: it was also called a scheme to benefit the monied interests at the expense of landed proprietors: nevertheless, it passed by large majorities, although within three years not more than one-fourth of the tax was redeemed.

Parliament did not confine itself to financial resources, but took also into consideration other measures of national defence: with this view Mr. Dundas successfully moved for a bill, enabling his majesty to call out a portion of the supplementary militia; and a second was carried to encourage voluntary armed associations, for the protection of the country, which was now considered as menaced with invasion. No measure, perhaps, ever brought out the national spirit with greater force and alacrity than this; for men of all ranks, all professions, and almost all ages, in every corner of the realm,[1] united to learn the use of arms, in defence of that constitutional freedom, for which their forefathers had fought and bled. It has, however, been justly observed, 'that many candid persons lamented the policy which rejected offers of service

[1] Many ludicrous circumstances were connected with the formation of such a variety of corps as were at this time inspired with military ardor: a remarkably sarcastic speech was attributed to Mr. Pitt, in reply to a certain corporation which was anxious to raise a company, under a proviso, that 'they were not on any account to be sent out of the kingdom.'—'Certainly,' said the minister, 'let them be enrolled; and let it be added to their proviso, 'except in case of invasion.'" A corps raised among the inns of court was called 'The Devil's Own:' why, it is impossible to conceive.

from men of large property, and of great military reputation, who forgot their opposition to the minister of the day in duty to their king, their country, and themselves:' probably party-spirit was never so high, as at the period of which we are treating; though the ministerialists were so rapidly increasing, that they could have well afforded to exercise a little more liberality and conciliation.

A third bill was brought into the house by Mr. Dundas, by which the suspension of the habeas corpus act was revived: the alien bill also was renewed; and on the twenty-fifth of May, as the danger of invasion appeared augmented from the accumulating preparations on the coast of France, Mr. Pitt proposed a measure for more effectually manning our navy. His chief object was a temporary suspension of the protections of seamen; and he expressed an earnest wish that the bill should pass through its different stages that day, with a suitable pause at each, if required; and that it should be sent to the lords for their concurrence. Mr. Tierney thought that an augmentation of the navy might be accomplished in the usual way: the extraordinary manner in which the house had been called on to adopt this measure, could not fail, he said, to create unnecessary alarm: indeed, from all he had lately seen, the measures of ministers appeared hostile to the liberty of the subject. Mr. Pitt warmly replied, 'that if every measure adopted against the designs of France was to be considered hostile to the liberties of this country, his ideas of liberty differed widely from those of the honorable gentleman: as an announcement of the intended measure would enable those who were the objects of it to elude its operation, to what could the honorable gentleman's opposition be referred, but to a desire of obstructing the defence of the country?' Mr. Tierney then rose, and called his antagonist to order; on which, the speaker observed, that whatever had a tendency to cast suspicion on the sentiments of a member, was certainly irregular: of this the house would judge from the right honorable gentleman's explanation. The premier, however, re-

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plied, that if the house waited for any explanation from him, it would wait a very long time: he knew it was not parliamentary to enter into the motives which actuated members; but it was impossible to adduce arguments in favor of a question, without sometimes hinting at the sentiments which created an opposition to it: he submitted to the judgment of the house the propriety of what he had urged; but he refused either to retract or explain any of his expressions. Mr. Tierney accordingly left the house, and next morning sent a hostile message to the minister: on Sunday afternoon, May 27, the parties met on Putney-heath; when, two cases of pistols having been discharged without effect, Mr. Pitt fired into the air, and the matter was accommodated by an interference of the seconds.

Duel between Mr. Pitt and Tierney.

As in the last session, so in this, the chancellor of the exchequer found himself obliged to lay before the house a second estimate of supplies, stating that the loan must be fifteen millions instead of twelve; since the triple assessment, which was calculated to produce seven millions, was reduced by various modifications to four: the interest of the increased loan and deficiencies he estimated at £763,000, for which he proposed to provide by additional duties on salt, tea, dogs, horses, and carriages; with a tax on armorial bearings: the various duties on houses and windows were at the same time consolidated into one table.

Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for the abolition of the slave trade; but though his proposition was rejected, several regulations were enacted for alleviating the sufferings of the wretched Africans in their passage. Mr. Bryan Edwards, having on this occasion taken part against the abolition, Mr. Canning replied to that gentleman in a speech which displayed at once the statesman, orator, and philanthropist. A motion made this session in the house of lords, by the duke of Bedford, for an address to the king to dismiss his ministry, was rejected by a large majority.

On the nineteenth of June a message from his majesty announced that various regiments of militia

had made a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion then raging in that country; and an address was carried in both houses, empowering his majesty to accept such offers; while bills, founded on the message, were passed previously to the prorogation of parliament on the twenty-ninth of June. Though England was thus deprived of about 12,000 of her constitutional defenders, military ardor, pervading the nation, created so many volunteer associations, that apprehensions either of foreign or domestic foes began daily to decrease.

Irish rebellion.

The great rebellion, to which allusion has been just made, had its origin in the association of united Irishmen, first instituted for obtaining universal suffrage; but afterwards recognised for the accomplishment of a revolution, and a separation from Great Britain; parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation being used only as veils to cover these insidious designs. There had long been a correspondence kept up between the leaders of this union and the French directory; in consequence of which, the expedition had sailed under the command of Hoche; and a fleet had been fitted out in the Texel, for the conveyance of another armament; which design was frustrated by admiral Duncan's glorious victory: an agent, however, from the united Irishmen was still resident in Paris; and application was made to the directory for a loan to assist the revolutionists. Happily for Great Britain, the object of these malcontents and that of the French government were not the same: the Irish conspirators were anxious to establish an independent republic; while the French sought to subdue the island, and form it into a government dependent on themselves; they refused therefore to grant the required loan, unless permitted to send forces sufficient to effect a conquest of the country; but finding the petitioners averse to this plan of invasion, they began to receive the proposition with coolness, and turned their attention to objects which appeared more important and practicable: meanwhile, the Irish, despairing of any effectual co-opera-

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tion, prepared for insurrection without waiting for continental assistance.

Like the French revolution itself, the rebellion in Ireland had its remote and proximate causes; for although that revolution acted as a firebrand on the present occasion, yet combustibles had been prepared for ignition through a long succession of ages. In early times Ireland was considered as little more than a land of barbarians conveniently situated to enrich English adventurers by pillage and confiscation: even after the complete conquest of the country by William III., when the catholics were totally defeated, no anxiety was shown by the British government, or by the Irish parliament, to improve the country and ameliorate the condition of its people: there were laws indeed for disqualifying papists from holding influential situations; but no care was taken to raise the character, morals, and prosperity of the nation, by a rational system of education; by proper commercial regulations, and provision for the poor; or by an impartial administration of justice; a proper tenure of land; and a commutation of tithe, where that impost was so odious and difficult of collection: the country, therefore, naturally continued a prey to ignorance and superstition; and was easily excited to the most outrageous excesses by a bigoted and ambitious priesthood: for although, as Dr. Miller observes,[2] 'the rebellion of 1798 had its origin among the presbyterians, and not among the Roman catholics, who were more anxious for the removal of their own disabilities than for changes of a government in which they did not yet fully participate, as appeared when the French armament arrived in Bantry-bay, and found no military organisation of the catholics; yet when the winds of heaven had dissipated that force, effectual means were employed for enlisting papists in the cause of revolution; and so ardently did the bigotry of popery then engage in the struggle, that it shocked and disgusted the very men, who had united with them for the attainment of a common freedom; and by sending

[2] History philosophically considered, vol. iv. p. 502.

these back into the ranks of loyalty, contributed to effect eventually the deliverance of the country.'

At the commencement of this year a grand effort was resolved on by the united Irish. In the month of February a military commission was appointed by their executive council; and nocturnal assemblies were held in various parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to arms: the most savage atrocities were committed by the insurgents on those whom they were taught to consider as enemies and interlopers in their domains; while these outrages were severely retaliated by the Orangemen and military, whose cruel floggings and half-hangings for the discovery of arms and plots, connived at rather than encouraged by government, fixed in the hearts of the lower orders a rancorous determination of revenge. At this time, Arthur O'Connor, a member of the pretended directory, repaired to London, with an intention of proceeding to France in company with one Binns, an active member of the London corresponding society, Coigley, an Irish priest, and two attendants of the name of Allen and Leary: these associates, however, were taken into custody at Margate, and after a short confinement in the Tower, were brought to trial under a special commission; when Coigley, on whose person was found an address from the secret committee of England to the executive directory of France, was found guilty, and executed as a traitor; Leary and Allen, against whom no evidence appeared, were acquitted; while O'Connor and Binns were detained on another charge of high treason. Such, however, was the secresy maintained by the chief conspirators, that although their plot was disclosed, the names of the traitors remained unknown: at length, one Reynolds, colonel of a regiment of united Irishmen, conscious of the atrocities meditated, and struck with remorse for his concurrence in them, laid open the whole to government; and on this information, thirteen members of the provincial committee of Leinster, with other principals in the conspiracy, were arrested: among these, were Emmett, a protestant barrister of considerable talent; and Dr.

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M'Niven, chairman of the catholic committee. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother of the duke of Leinster, made his escape, and remained for several weeks concealed in Dublin, though a reward of £1000 was offered for his apprehension: but he was discovered on the nineteenth of May; when justice Swan was wounded dangerously, and captain Ryan mortally, in their efforts to arrest him: he himself, however, received a fatal shot in the shoulder, of which he languished till the third of June, and died in extreme agony: the vacancies created by these arrests were speedily filled up, but with men much less qualified for the arduous task of upsetting an established government. Among the members of the new directory were two brothers, John and Henry Sheares, into whose confidence captain Armstrong, a government agent, contrived to insinuate himself by a great show of zeal in their cause; and from them he learned that a general rising was intended on the twenty-third of May; the plan proposed being to seize simultaneously on the camp of Loughlin's-town, the artillery of Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin: on the twenty-first, however, these two Sheares, with some other leaders of the conspiracy, were arrested; the city and county of Dublin were declared in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle, and at all other grand objects of attack, were trebled; and the whole city was converted into a garrison. Among other precautions taken by government, was the augmentation of yeomanry corps, which were mostly cavalry: in six months after their first establishment in 1796, they had amounted to 37,000 men; and during the rebellion, this force was increased to 50,000. Of the means accumulated by the insurgents some notion may be formed from a paper given to Reynolds, the informer, by lord Edward Fitzgerald, purporting to be a return made from a national committee on the twenty-sixth of February; from which it appeared that the number of armed men in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, amounted to 269,896; and that the sum of £1485 was in the hands of their treasurer: another return, made by an assembly of

colonels on the twenty-eighth of March, gave the proportion of one to three in their favor, even among the king's troops; while the insurgents were stated to be in sufficient force to disarm all the military within their own counties.

On the twenty-ninth of April, sir Ralph Abercrombie, commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, who had made a tour through the provinces, and observed the excesses committed by the military, notified in general orders, 'that the irregularities of the troops had unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy.' Having also failed of success in impressing the minds of those in power with his own ideas, that coercive measures to the extent resolved on were not necessary, he resigned his command on the twenty-ninth of April, and was succeeded by general Lake. In the month of March, orders were issued by the lord-lieutenant, for soldiers to march into the disturbed districts; and a manifesto was published on the third of May at head-quarters, in Kildare, requiring the inhabitants to surrender their arms within the period of ten days, under penalty of supporting large bodies of troops at free quarters; while rewards were promised for the discovery of weapons, and extreme severity was denounced against those counties which should continue in a disturbed state. The rebel chiefs, however, had decided on a contest; and the twenty-third of May was appointed for a general insurrection: the command of their forces, after the capture of lord Edward Fitzgerald, devolved on Samuel Neilson, who planned a simultaneous attack on Newgate, for the purpose of rescuing his lordship, and on the castle, to secure the principal members of government; for which purpose he assembled fifteen insurgent colonels on the night of the twenty-second, and assigned to them their respective posts: nor was the plan confined to the metropolis, for it embraced the whole kingdom; the stoppage of the mail-coaches being appointed as the signal for a general rising. This part of the project was carried into effect; for, on the

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twenty-third, the Belfast mail was detained and burnt at Santry, the Cork mail at Naas, and that running in the direction of Athlone at Lucan: both the guard and coachman of the Limerick mail were barbarously murdered near the Curragh of Kildare, and the coach destroyed. Early on the morning of the twenty-third, all the yeomanry in Dublin, and the small garrison of that city, were ordered by general Lake to repair to their respective posts; while the lord mayor placed the Cork militia, with two field-pieces, at the north side of St. Stephen's green. The north and south sides of Dublin being protected by the royal canal, and the grand canal, each fifty feet broad and eight deep, and the bridges being occupied by the military, almost all communication was cut off between the city and the insurgents: still a disaffected body of about 3000 men had entered on the evening of the twenty-third; and numerous armed rebels, who had assembled in the suburbs, were advancing with an intention to rush in and join their confederates, as soon as these latter had taken possession of the castle. At this crisis, Neilson, the rebel chieftain, was apprehended in the street by one Greig, after a desperate struggle, and lodged in prison; when some thousands of rebels, who were lurking in lanes or by-places, and waiting for the signal of assassination, dispersed in various directions: during the night of the twenty-third, and several days following, skirmishes were fought in the adjacent counties, and attacks were made on Naas, Clane, Ballymore, and other towns: but these feeble unconnected efforts were not seconded by any general insurrection; for Ulster, in which province 10,000 united Irishmen were said to have been enrolled, declined the contest on account of the unpromising aspect of affairs; and the rebellion resembled rather the capricious movements of a mob, than the united efforts of a national force. Martial law, however, was now proclaimed by the lord-lieutenant, against all persons abetting the rebels; and an opportunity soon occurred of putting it into execution; for, on the twenty-fifth, the garrison of Carlow, consisting of 450 men under colonel Mahon, was assailed

by a body of about 1500 insurgents: on their advance into the town, they were received with so destructive a fire, that they recoiled, and took refuge in houses; many of which being set on fire by the soldiers, the wretched inmates perished in the flames: not an individual of the garrison was even wounded; but no less than 500 of the assailants fell; and after the defeat, about 200 were either hanged or shot: among the latter, was sir Edward Crosbie, before whose house the rebel column had assembled previous to their attack: he was a gentleman of an amiable disposition; but being accustomed to express great pity for the distresses of the Irish peasantry, and to declare himself a zealous friend of parliamentary reform, he was on that account considered as a republican by the zealous loyalists, and the mode of conducting his trial was certainly not of the fairest kind:[3] he was speedily convicted, and executed with equal precipitation, at an unusual hour; after which, his head was cut off, and fixed on a pike.

As a minute detail of the various engagements which ensued would far exceed the limits of this history, the chief agents, operations, and results only can be attended to. The rebels, fighting with undisciplined courage, were frequently victorious over smaller numbers; but, inflamed by their bigoted priests, they exercised, wherever they prevailed, a ferocity exceeding that of the most savage tribes: the regular soldiers, on the side of the royalists, were not numerous; but the Irish militia and yeomanry fought with distinguished fidelity and valor; several regiments also of English militia were permitted, by an act of parliament, at their own instance, to cross the channel; and were very instrumental in supporting the cause of government.

On the night of the twenty-sixth of May, the standard of rebellion was unfurled between Gorey and Wexford, when father John Murphy, a Romish priest,

[3] Catholic prisoners, it is said, were tortured to give evidence against him, and loyal protestants prevented by the bayonets of the soldiers from coming forward in his favor.

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placed himself at the head of the insurgents; two large bodies of whom were collected together on the following Sunday; one on the hill of Oulart; the other, amounting to near 3000, on that of Kilthomas, under another priest, named Michael Murphy: these latter were attacked and defeated, with considerable slaughter, by about 300 yeomen, who advanced intrepidly up the hill; but the victors tarnished their laurels by burning two Romish chapels, with about 200 cabins and farm-houses belonging to people of that faith: on the same day, an action was fought, with a very different result, on the hill of Oulart; where the rebels, finding their retreat cut off, attacked their opponents with so successful an impetuosity, that a whole picked detachment, consisting of 110 men from the Cork militia, were slain, except the colonel and four privates; while the loss of the rebels did not exceed three killed and six wounded. Father John, flushed with victory, then advanced with a corps, increased to 7000, against Enniscorthy; the garrison of which place, after a contest of about three hours, was obliged to evacuate it, and to retreat.

Battle of Vinegar-hill.

The next position of the insurgents was at Vinegar-hill, in that neighbourhood: and on the twenty-ninth, John Henry Colclough, Edward Fitzgerald, and Bagnal Harvey, who had been previously committed to prison, on suspicion, by the loyalists, were sent, though ineffectually, to prevail on them to disperse. Fitzgerald was detained in the rebel camp; and so prompt were their movements, that before evening, on the same day, their advanced guard was pushed on to Three Rocks, about three miles from Wexford; the inhabitants of which city were thrown into great consternation at their approach: the shops were all shut up; multitudes repaired for refuge on board the ships in harbor; and many sought security in flight. The military in Wexford at this time amounted to about 1200 men, while their opponents were 15,000; but it was announced that general Fawcett was on his march from the fort of Duncannon; and a strong reinforcement might hourly be expected: but that commander

rriving by night at Taghmon, sent forward, on the morning of the thirtieth, a small detachment, which was wholly cut off; after which, he made a retreat unknown to the garrison; and when colonel Maxwell, supposing that the general would be able to take the rebels in rear while he attacked them in front, sallied forth from the town next morning, he was unable to cope with his antagonists. On the return of the troops, a council of war was hastily assembled; and the result was, that the garrison retired, and the insurgents poured by thousands into the city, with horrid shouts of exultation: they were in the most disorderly state; their arms consisting chiefly of pikes with handles sixteen or eighteen feet long, scythes, hay-knives, old bayonets fixed on poles, and rusty muskets. They first proceeded to the prison; and having liberated Bagnal Harvey, insisted that he should become their commander: the inhabitants endeavored in vain to appease them by a profuse hospitality; and after various scenes of plunder and disorder, parties were despatched in boats to bring on shore all the men, arms, and ammunition that could be found on board the vessels in harbor; when every one that was recognised as obnoxious to the rebels, and many others in mere wantonness, were pierced with pikes by these sanguinary wretches on the beach: the night of the thirtieth passed in comparative tranquillity; but early on the thirty-first, the streets were again crowded, scenes of plunder recommenced, and the prisons were filled with persons denounced by rebels: at length, the insurgent forces were induced to move out of the town, and encamp in two bodies on Windmill-hill; but a kind of commission was still left to supply the camps, issue proclamations, and select unfortunate protestants for execution. The numbers of these latter increased in proportion to the reverses of the rebel army; and the general mode of putting them to death was as follows:—at a certain period of the day they were taken out of the prisons, and led in companies of ten or twenty to the new bridge, preceded by black flags, with ruthless pikemen as guards, and assailed by

Cruelties of the insurgents.

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insults and execrations from the mob: a few were then shot; but generally two rebels stood before and two behind each victim, into whom having thrust their pikes, they held him suspended in the air and writhing with torture till he expired; when they threw his body into the river; and the crowd, which consisted mostly of females, expressed their savage joy with loud huzzas. One woman, the wife of Dixon, a rebel captain,[4] particularly distinguished herself: she prevented the prisoners from being shot in prison, in order, as she said, 'that the people might have the pleasure of seeing them die;[5] and, stepping over the ground at the place of execution, with her riding-dress pulled up, lest it should be stained with blood, she exclaimed to the executioners,—'Spare your ammunition, boys; and use your pikes.'

Such were the transactions in the southern part of the county: in the north, after the insurgents had been repulsed at Gorey, and defeated with great slaughter at Newtonbarry, they routed a considerable detachment under colonel Walpole; and obliged the royal troops, under general Loftus, weakened by that loss, to retreat to Carnew; by which means, an immense tract of country was left at their mercy.

A large division under Bagnal Harvey advanced to the south-west, for the purpose of attacking New Ross, and opening a communication with the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny. Having encamped on Carrickburn-mountain, they advanced on the fourth of June to Corbet-hill; and early on the fifth, prepared for the assault; being armed, some with muskets, but most with pikes; having also a few pieces of cannon: as they moved on, a number of priests in canonical vestments, and holding crucifixes in their hands, went through the ranks to animate them with religious enthusiasm for the combat. Urged by such motives, and inflamed by intoxication, a large column drove in the outposts, forced back the cavalry on the infantry,

[4] The master of a trading vessel, an inhuman wretch who brought his miserable cargo of fugitives to land again, when they had paid an immense price for their passage to Wales.

[5] C. Jackson's Sufferings and Escape, p. 26.

and seized the artillery, after driving the royal troops to the bridge on the other side of the river: general Johnson, however, who commanded this garrison, having rallied his men, with great energy and skill recovered the post, and drove the rebels into the suburbs, which had been fired by their adherents. Rallied by the chiefs, they returned with fury to the assault, and regained the same ground; but at last they were finally defeated, after an engagement of nine hours' continuance, and with a loss of near 2000 men: on the royal side about 300 fell, among whom was lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia. On the day of the battle, one of the most atrocious acts which distinguished this unhappy period was committed. Though many helpless protestants had been put to death by roving parties of rebels, yet a greater number were taken and placed in confinement for future purposes: about 200 of these, men, women, and children, were shut up in a barn at Scullabogue, near Carrickburn-mountain, and left in charge of one Murphy, a rebel captain: during the engagement, when their party began to give way, an order was sent to put all those unfortunate prisoners to death; but Murphy twice resisted its execution, until given to understand that it proceeded from the priesthood, and his men became outrageous to begin the bloody work: in the first instance, thirty-seven protestants were shot or piked outside the barn; and the rest, in number 184, were burnt alive within the building, which was set on fire by bundles of lighted straw. Struck with horror at the atrocious act, and having little authority on account of his religious creed, Bagnal Harvey resigned his command, and returned to Wexford; when the rebels chose for his successor a priest named Philip Roche, who had gained a victory near Clough; a man, whose lofty stature and boisterous manners rendered him well adapted to govern such an outrageous multitude: after this time, they lay for a considerable period inactive, indulging their appetite for intoxicating liquor.

Defeat of the rebels.

Fortunately for the country at large, their associates

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at Gorey continued equally inert, after the retreat of general Loftus; wasting their time in burning the town of Carnew, bringing Orangemen to trial, and plundering houses: at length, rousing themselves from this indolence, they advanced, in a body of 27,000 men, against Arklow, under Michael Murphy the priest: its garrison consisted only of 1600; but it was well supplied with artillery, and ably commanded by general Needham; three sides of the town being defended by the military, and the fourth by the river Oraca: the attack, which continued two hours, was fierce, though irregular; but the incessant fire of the troops rendered all efforts abortive to gain possession of the place. The assault on one quarter was conducted by father Murphy, who used extraordinary means to excite a superstitious enthusiasm in his followers: when they seemed reluctant to advance, he would take musket balls out of his pocket, and, throwing them into the air, exclaim, 'that they had been fired at him by the enemy; but that the balls of heretics could not hurt those who were steadfast in the true faith:' at length he was brought down by a cannon shot; and the rebels, dispirited at his fall, began a retreat toward Gorey, in which it was not thought prudent to molest them: but the issue of this battle prevented them from effecting their scheme of penetrating to Dublin; which might have given a very dangerous turn to the rebellion.

The insurgent army, now under the command of Garret Byrne, having set the little town of Tinnchely in flames, and put numerous protestants to death as Orangemen, next meditated an attack on Hacketstown; but were compelled to abandon that design by the approach of general Lake, and to commence a retreat, on the twentieth, toward Vinegar-hill: there they established a general dépôt for prisoners; and every morning, at parade, a number of those unfortunate victims were sacrificed, many of them with excruciating torments, for the amusement of the rebels: the plan of general Lake was to surround this position; for which reason, he moved several corps simultane-

ously from different quarters; generals Dundas, Duff, and Loftus, proceeding from the vicinity of Kilcaven; Eustace and Johnson from Ross; and Needham, from Arklow and Gorey. General Johnson began the attack on Enniscorthy at seven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-first of June; and his example was followed by the other commanders: the town was soon carried, but the revolters were enabled for some time to resist showers of bullets and shells, as well as an advance of the troops, by the strength of their position on the hill; at the end, however, of an hour and a half, they were completely routed, and made their escape through a space, intended to have been occupied by general Needham's corps, which was unable to come up: the immense column that retreated through this opening, which thence acquired the name of 'Needham's gap,' now poured into Wexford; but the greater number soon left it, at the instance of Dr. Caulfield, titular bishop of Ferns, who assured them that general Moore was approaching; as was really the case: they, therefore, held a hasty council of war, and marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkenny.

Wexford was then relieved by Moore's army; the rebels having previously released their prisoner, lord Kingsborough, whose life had been wonderfully preserved by the exertions of Dr. Caulfield. The body of men, which had retired into Kilkenny, obtained temporary success by means of overwhelming numbers; but being at length pursued by general Dunn and sir Charles Asgill, they were totally defeated on the twenty-sixth of June at Kilcomney-hill; and Murphy their chief, flying from the field of battle, was soon afterwards captured, and conducted to the head-quarters of general sir James Duff at Tullow; where he was hanged the same day, and his head placed on the market-house.

In the south, the spirit of rebellion was now happily approaching its termination: in the north, catholic priests were not so numerous or so active, and the enormities perpetrated were not so atrocious. The insurgents having risen at Antrim, an attack was made

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on them by a force which general Nugent, commander of the district, despatched for that purpose in the early part of June; and the rebels were dispossessed of the town, with a loss of about two hundred men; but not till lord O'Neill, a very accomplished nobleman, had been mortally wounded with pikes: being repulsed at Larne, Ballymena, and Ballycastle, the main body retired to Donnegar-hill; but, hearing the turn which affairs had taken in Leinster, they soon dispersed.

About the same time also, an insurrection commenced in the county of Down; where, after a battle fought near Saintfield, in which about sixty of the royalists fell, their commander, colonel Stapleton, was obliged to retire into Belfast: the insurgents then, assembling from all quarters to the number of 5000, and electing for their general, Henry Munroe, a linen-draper of Lisburn, encountered the royal troops, amounting to 1500 men, under general Nugent at Ballynahinch, where they at first obtained a considerable advantage by desperate valor, but lost it from want of military tactics; and at length, giving way, took to flight in all directions: their leader, being captured, was hanged before his own door at Lisburn; and some dissenting ministers also were executed: there were no catholics in this battle; for on the preceding night, 2000 deserted their dissenting brethren; and, during the engagement, they expressed great satisfaction to see protestants destroying each other. On the suppression of this insurrection in Ulster, another local rising took place in Munster, which was put down without much difficuly.

Suppression of the insurrection.

After the signal defeat of the rebel forces at Vinegar-hill, and their consequent expulsion from the vicinity of Wexford, a considerable number dispersed, and returned to their usual occupations; but the more desperate retired to mountainous parts of Wexford and Wicklow, where for a time they waged a desultory warfare: at length, being perpetually harassed, most of the insurgent chiefs surrendered; and those who still resisted, might rather be considered as small bands of banditti, than as embodied forces.

Dublin, having escaped the horrors of civil war, now became the chief theatre of public justice, where many instigators of rebellion were tried and executed: numerous leaders were also condemned to suffer death at Wexford, on the very bridge which had been the scene of such horrid massacres: among these were some, to whom mercy ought to have been extended; for instance, Philip Roche, the catholic priest, by whose interference many loyalists had been saved from destruction; and captain Matthew Keogh, a protestant, who made an excellent defence, and for whose acquittal even the military officers were very anxious.

In the present perilous condition of Ireland, which was now threatened by a French invasion, the British cabinet thought it expedient to nominate a viceroy who possessed both civil and military experience: on which account, earl Camden was recalled; and his successor, the marquis Cornwallis, made his public entrance into Dublin on the twentieth of June; and the administration of this nobleman, uniting conciliation and mercy with firmness and caution, was found calculated to quiet the country, prevent the recurrence of past evils, and promote permanent prosperity. On the third of July, a proclamation was issued, authorising his majesty's generals to afford protection to such insurgents, as, having been simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, and take the oath of allegiance: soon afterwards, an act of amnesty was passed, under certain conditions; and a treaty was entered into between government and the chief conspirators then in confinement,[6] who gave, on oath, the most important information respecting the whole confederacy; whence it appeared, that the rebellion originated for the purpose, not of catholic emancipation, but of subverting the constitution, separating Ireland from England, and establishing a republic.

Invasion of Ireland by the French.

Though the French directory had contemplated the progress of this rebellion with tranquillity; yet, when a few faint sparks only of its expiring embers could be dis-

[6] Among these were Arthur O'Connor, counsellor Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, S. Neilson, &c.

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cerned, they despatched an expedition of three frigates, containing about 1100 men, under general Humbert, to resuscitate the flame: having disembarked his forces on the twenty-second of August, in the bay of Killala, that officer established his head-quarters in the bishop's palace; but though a green flag was hoisted, few of the peasantry were disposed to rally round it. Leaving a small garrison at Killala, under colonel Charost, the French general marched towards Castlebar, without experiencing any obstacle in his route: the army, collected there under general Lake, consisted of between two and three thousand regulars; and Humbert, relying chiefly for success on his own troops, so posted his Irish levies on the flanks of his column, as to protect it from the British fire: on the twenty-seventh, he attacked the opposing forces, situated on a hill at the north-western extremity of the town, with great impetuosity; and, driving them from their position, made Castlebar his head-quarters. The danger, which was now imminent, determined lord Cornwallis to take the field in person: on his arrival at Athlone, on the twenty-eighth of August, he learned the defeat of general Lake; and, after a halt of two days, proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, who had advanced into the interior of the country: his lordship passed the Shannon at Carrick; and having come up with the French army, he surrounded it with about 20,000 men, and forced it to surrender: the rebel auxiliaries fled in all directions; about 500 of them were slain in the pursuit, and 100 taken prisoners; among whom were their principal chiefs. Troops having been placed in Killala and Ballina, general Trench proceeded against those places; from the latter of which the garrison retreated to Killala, where a battle took place, and the rebels lost about 400 men. Courts-martial were then assembled, which disposed of a considerable number of prisoners: the French officers were sent to Dublin, and thence to London; where three of their number, Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, were liberated without exchange, on account of the favorable character given of them by the bishop of Killala. The French govern-

ment assigned the want of money as a reason for not properly seconding this invasion: a brig of war indeed appeared, on the coast, with arms and ammunition, and having on board the celebrated Napper Tandy, one of the Irish emissaries to the directory; but finding what was the state of affairs, it returned, without effecting any thing beyond the distribution of certain inflammatory papers: some time afterwards Tandy, with two other Irish rebels, was apprehended by the agents of Great Britain at Hamburg, and conveyed to Ireland, where he was indicted for high treason in 1801; but, having pleaded guilty by previous arrangement, he was suffered to quit the kingdom, and reside in France. Another attempt of the French to revive a lost cause was made with no better success: a squadron, consisting of the Hoche, line-of-battle ship, and eight frigates, with troops and ammunition on board, was met, on the twelfth of October, off the north-west coast of Ireland, by an English squadron, under sir John Borlase Warren, who captured the Hoche, with three of the frigates; and eventually three others fell into our possession: among the prisoners taken was T. Wolfe Tone, projector of the society of united Irishmen; who, being put on his trial at Dublin, rested his defence on his being a denizen of France, and an officer in her service; but being condemned to the gallows, and unable to procure a commutation of the sentence, he terminated his existence in prison. Thus ended this insurrection, in which it is estimated that more than 30,000 lives were sacrificed, and property to an immense amount was destroyed; the claims of the loyalists alone, for compensation allowed by parliament, amounted to upwards of a million sterling, which was not thought equal to more than one-third of the total loss.

French expedition to Egypt.

The inattention of the French to the affairs of Ireland, arose not so much from supineness as from other important schemes with which they were at this time occupied: finding that country inaccessible to them, and England becoming a nation of soldiers, ready to defend their rights to the last, the republican govern-

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ment acceded to an expedition proposed by their victorious general, which, as it was thought, might be ultimately extended to the most valuable territories of Great Britain: their project was to gain possession of Egypt, and to establish a power in that central position, with a double design, of obtaining the riches of the Nile, and extending their sway to the banks of the Ganges; so that the empires of Turkey and Hindostan might become appendages to the French republic. The idea of seizing and colonising Egypt had suggested itself to Vergennes during the monarchy: it had for some time been entertained by Bonaparte; and it pleased the directory, who hoped, even if the great object of the expedition should be frustrated, to rid themselves of a troublesome and dangerous rival: funds, however, were absolutely wanting; for the treasury was almost empty: with that defiance, therefore, of all high principle or political honesty which characterised the times, they looked around for some weak ally, or neutral, to plunder. Free Switzerland offered itself; and as Berne possessed a well-supplied treasury, a quarrel was sought against its government, on the pretext of having publicly enrolled emigrants, and given shelter to deserters: a French army, under general Brune, passed into Switzerland, on the marauding errand of pointing its cannon against Berne, and demanding the public purse of its citizens. Success, after some well-contested actions, attended these bandits: the ruling families were immediately displaced; the nature of the government was changed; the most respectable of the senators were sent into exile; and though the French professed to come in the character of protectors, the treasury was confiscated, and large contributions were exacted for the supply of the invading army: after some opposition, Lucerne was made the seat of government; and an alliance, offensive and defensive, was contracted between the French and Helvetic republics; but the directory still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions on their allies to an immense amount. Thus Bonaparte filled his military chest from the Swiss coffers; and,

on the nineteenth of May, he was enabled to conduct his expedition from the port of Toulon: it counted thirteen ships of the line, of which one was of the first and three of the second rate, with seven frigates and smaller vessels, making altogether forty-four sail, under the command of rear-admiral Brueys: the transports amounted to nearly 200, carrying about 20,000 men, with a proportionable number of horses and artillery, provisions and military stores, as well as a large body of scientific men, to make researches into the antiquities and productions of that interesting country to which they were bound. 'Ten days, however, before general Bonaparte's departure for Egypt,' says de Bourrienne, 'a prisoner escaped from the Temple,[7] who was destined to contribute materially to his reverses: this escape was pregnant with future events; and a false order of the minister of police prevented the revolution of the East.'

Capture of Malta by the French.

The armament arrived at Malta on the tenth of June, when a general landing of troops and artillery took place: a few shots were exchanged, to save the honor of the knights;[8] and that impregnable fortress, betrayed by the constituted authorities, opened its gates to the enemy: little, however, did the conqueror then suppose that he had merely taken Malta in deposit for the English. A provisional government having been appointed, the fleet again put to sea, and on the thirtieth of June anchored in the roads of Alexandria: a landing was effected on the second of July, and the city was attacked and entered on the fifth. While the general in chief despatched Desaix toward Cairo, he issued orders for the fleet to take shelter in the old port; but, on sounding the channel, it was found that the depth of water was not sufficient for the admiral's ship; the road of Aboukir was therefore chosen as the fittest place of anchorage: having defeated the beys and mamelukes in several actions, and conciliated the Mahometan inhabitants by proclamations, in which

[7] Sir William Sidney Smith.

[8] 'They were sold,' says de Bourrienne: 'the capture of Malta was assured before we left Toulon.'—vol. i. p. 137.

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he declared himself sent to protect their religion and destroy its enemies, Bonaparte took possession of Grand Cairo, sending Desaix against the powerful chieftain Murad Bey, whom he forced to take refuge in Upper Egypt; while Ibrahim Bey, in a contrary direction, fled toward Syria.

Nelson's pursuit of the French fleet.

Lord St. Vincent still commanded the British fleet, stationed to observe the general movements of the enemy; and was cruising off Cadiz, when intelligence arrived of the departure of the French armament: its defeat was deemed by the British government an object of paramount importance; and our admiral was ordered to take his whole force into the Mediterranean, unless he considered that a detachment would be sufficient to effect the object. His lordship was also enjoined, in case he sent a detached squadron, to place it under the command of sir John Orde: on which occasion he is reported to have said; 'Ministers may remove me; but as long as I am commander-in-chief, I will act for the good of the service. I know nothing of sir John Orde's qualifications for such a command; but I *know*, and can *trust* Nelson; and to him I will give it.'[9] Nelson was already in the Mediterranean, watching the preparations at Toulon, with three seventy-fours and four frigates: at the very time of the French fleet's departure, he had put into the Sardinian port of San Pietro to refit his little squadron, which had been seriously damaged by a tempest; and was thus in all probability preserved from capture: this delay also enabled him to complete his supply of water, and receive a reinforcement which earl St. Vincent was enabled to send him, consisting of ten line-of-battle ships, and one of fifty guns, with which he was judiciously left to steer intirely according to his own judgment: unfortunately, the frigates had separated from him during the storm, and could obtain no tidings of his course; he was therefore obliged to sail without them, and to suffer cruel anxiety and distress

[9] From private information, sir John Orde afterwards sent a challenge to earl St. Vincent, for thus treating him, contrary to ministerial orders; but his lordship very kindly and discreetly passed it over without notice.

by reason of their absence. It is not creditable to the administration of that day, to have sent against the formidable flotilla of their enemies, ships of so comparatively small a size as those under Nelson: while the French fleet contained a magnificent three-decker of 120 guns, and three of eighty, not one of the British squadron carried more than seventy-four: they had also been fitted out hastily, and were not in good condition: but the captains were all men of unquestionable zeal, invincible courage, and great professional talents; who were assisted by active officers, bred up in the best school, and supported by crews well practised in naval tactics: with such associates, their gallant commander was not to be discouraged by any odds against him in point of physical force.

The British rear-admiral first sailed toward Naples; and on his voyage thither, learning that the enemy's fleet had visited Malta, he immediately formed a plan for attacking it there; but on his arrival, he found that the French had already departed to the eastward: rightly conjecturing that Egypt was their destination, thither he steered; and if the frigates, which he lost, had been with him, or if others had been sent, as prudence required, he could hardly have failed to obtain information of the enemy: for want of them, he only spoke three vessels on the way; and when he arrived on the twenty-eighth of June at Alexandria, he could gain no intelligence, except that advice had been received from Leghorn that the French intended to visit that port: in hopes of intercepting them, he steered to the coast of Caramania, and thence along the southern side of Candia; but being baffled in his pursuit, he returned to Sicily. When his want of success was known in England, the public voice declared that he deserved impeachment; and earl St. Vincent was severely censured for having sent so young an officer on so important a service![10]

The Neapolitan ministry, anxious to avoid every thing which could unsettle their peace with the directory, had determined to give his squadron no assist-

[10] Southey's Life of Nelson.

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ance; but through lady Hamilton's influence at court, Nelson procured secret orders to the Sicilian governors, under which he obtained all necessary supplies at Syracuse: on the twenty-fifth of July, therefore, he set sail from that port, full of hope; after writing to earl St. Vincent, 'that if the French were bound for the Antipodes, he would not lose a moment in bringing them to action.' Having searched for them in vain along the coasts of the Morea, and bitterly deplored his want of frigates, he took the resolution to steer again for Alexandria; and on the first of August, about ten o'clock in the morning, came in sight of that port; not vacant and solitary, as when the British last saw it; but crowded with vessels; while the tri-colored flag waved on its walls. The grand fleet was found moored within Aboukir-bay, in a strong and compact line of battle; the headmost vessel being as close as possible to a shoal on the north-west, and the rest forming a curve, or rather an obtuse angle, along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned in the south-west: this line was flanked by gun-boats, mortar-vessels, and four large frigates; these again being supported by a battery of guns and mortars on the island, near to which any assailants must pass. Admiral Brueys had made the best use of his means, and chosen a position which was calculated, according to French authorities, to defy a force double of their own: here, however, they had the advantage in all respects, particularly in their weight of metal and frigates; for their ships carried 1196 guns and 11,230 men; while those of their antagonist had only 1012 guns and 8068 men.

During the whole pursuit, it had been Nelson's practice to call his captains frequently on board the Vanguard, and explain to them such manœuvres as he proposed to practice, according to the different situations in which he might find the foe; so that his officers became perfectly acquainted with his tactics. At the moment when he perceived the position of the French, his intuitive genius was evoked; and the idea struck him, that where there was room for a French

ship to swing, there must be space for a British ship to anchor, between the enemy's line and the shore: accordingly, he determined that a part of his fleet should engage them on that side, while the rest should bear down on the other, and thus enclose them between two fires: having formed this general design, he directed his captains, in whom he reposed unlimited confidence, to exercise their own judgment in executing it, while every ship should begin the battle where she could act with most effect. As the squadron advanced, each ship sounding as she went, was assailed by a shower of shot and shells from the batteries on the island of Aboukir; the enemy also opened a brisk fire from the starboard side of their line, within half-gun-shot distance, into the bows of our van ships: this was received by the British crews in perfect silence, while they were employed aloft in furling sails, and below in tending the braces, or making ready for anchoring.

The hour was now arrived, when it was to be seen which power should obtain dominion over the ocean. The British admiral, having given orders for attacking the enemy's van and centre, soon afterwards hoisted a signal for close engagement; when the emulation displayed by all to gain an advanced post, must have tended greatly to depress their adversaries, and inspire each other with invincible confidence: so alert were the whole, that no ship could get ahead of another which was in advance.

Battle of the Nile.

Captain Foley, who led the van in the Goliath, darted ahead of the enemy's foremost ship, Le Guerrier; doubled her larboard side; and having poured in a destructive fire, moved on to the Conquérant, which he attacked with tremendous fury, and in ten minutes shot away her masts: next followed the Zealous, captain Hood, which attacked Le Guerrier on the side next the shore, and in twelve minutes totally disabled her: the Orion, sir James Saumarez, took her station between two of the enemy's ships, after having by one broadside sunk a frigate which dared to insult her with its fire: the Theseus, captain Miller, and the Audacious,

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captain Gould, following these leaders, also encountered the enemy's ships on the inside of his line, next the shore: then advanced the Vanguard, carrying the heroic Nelson, and his no less heroic captain, Berry, which anchored on the outside of the enemy's third ship, with six colors flying in his rigging: having veered half a cable, he opened a tremendous fire; under cover of which, the other four ships of his division, the Minotaur, Bellerophon, Defence, and Majestic, sailed on ahead of the admiral: in a few minutes, every man stationed at the first six guns, in the fore part of the Vanguard's deck, was killed or wounded; and three times in succession did the fire of the enemy sweep away the seamen that served them. Captain Louis, in the Minotaur, nobly supported his commander; and anchoring ahead of the Vanguard, took off the fire of the Aquilon, the fourth in the French line: the Defence, captain Peyton, took her station ahead of the Minotaur, and engaged the Franklin, of eighty guns, the sixth ship of the enemy, which bore the flag of admiral Blanquet de Chelard, second in command: thus, by the masterly seamanship of the British commanders, nine of our ships were so disposed, as to bear on six of the enemy: the seventh in the French line was the admiral's ship, L'Orient, carrying 120 guns; which stupendous adversary was encountered by the Bellerophon, captain Darby; while the Majestic, captain Westcott, after suffering much from the fire of L'Orient, engaged L'Heureux, the ninth ship, on the starboard bow; receiving, at the same time, the fire of the Tonnant, eighth in the line: the other four ships of the British squadron, having been detached to reconnoitre Alexandria previously to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action commenced; and the shades of night began to descend before they reached the scene of conflict: captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, took the lead of these; but increasing darkness having greatly augmented the difficulties of the navigation, that vessel suddenly grounded on a shoal, and could not be got off in time to share in the action: it was, however,

some satisfaction to her commanding officer, that his ship served as a beacon to the Alexander and Swiftsure, which would otherwise have gone considerably farther in upon the reef, and been lost; but which now took up their stations in a manner that commanded general admiration. At this juncture, the Bellerophon, overpowered by the huge L'Orient, her lights extinguished, and nearly 200 of her crew killed or wounded, with all her masts and cables shot away, was drifting out of the line toward the lee side of the bay, when the Swiftsure at first mistook her for an enemy's vessel, and was preparing to fire; but captain Hallowell's prompt judgment prevented this misfortune; for his ship came up, and took her station, opening a steady fire on the quarter of the Franklin, and the bows of the French admiral: at the same instant, captain Ball, with the Alexander, passed under the stern of L'Orient, and anchoring within side of her larboard quarter, raked her, and kept up a severe fire of musketry on her decks: the last ship which arrived to complete the enemy's destruction, was the Leander, of fifty guns, captain Thompson; which gallantly took its station as a ship of the line, and in such a position as to rake the Franklin, whilst all his shot which missed that ship struck the Orient.

The conflict now proceeded in the darkness of the night; and the only light to guide operations was derived from the flashes of cannon. The first two ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour from the commencement of the action; and others had suffered so severely, that victory was already certain; its extent being the only question. The third, fourth, and fifth ships of the enemy were taken possession of at half-past eight: but while the battle raged in its utmost fury, the British admiral received a wound on the head, from a piece of langridge shot, that cut a large flap of skin from the forehead; which, falling over his only remaining eye, left him in total darkness. From the great effusion of blood, it was apprehended that the wound would be mortal: Nelson himself thought so; for he desired the

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chaplain to deliver his dying remembrances to lady Nelson, and sent for captain Louis, from the Minotaur, to thank him for the gallant support which the Vanguard had received from that ship: but the surgeon, after examination, pronounced the wound to be only superficial; in the mean time, his place on the quarter-deck was ably supplied by captain Berry. The French admiral, Brueys, who supported the honor of his flag with undiminished courage, and who had been three times wounded without quitting his station, now received a shot from the Swiftsure, which nearly cut him in two: but he refused to be carried down below, and died in about a quarter of an hour on the quarter-deck of his noble ship: soon after nine o'clock, L'Orient appeared in flames, which spread with astonishing rapidity; and by their prodigious light, the situation of the hostile fleets could be distinctly seen from the minarets of Rosetta; a distance of fifteen miles. When this blaze was first discovered in the after part of the ship, captain Hallowell ordered all the guns of the Swiftsure, which could be spared from the Franklin, as well as the whole musketry of his marines, to be pointed in that direction; so that the French were unable to extinguish the conflagration: the Orient's crew, however, continued with a noble spirit to fire from her lower deck to the very last; and at about ten o'clock, she blew up with an explosion, which was felt by every vessel to the very bottom of its keel: to this succeeded a silence not less awful; the sanguinary conflict ceased on both sides; and the first sound which broke that portentous stillness, was the splash of shattered masts and yards falling into the sea. Not more than about seventy of the crew could be saved by the English boats; and the money which the admiral had taken on board, as the plunder of Malta, amounting to £600,000, was totally lost.

After a lapse of about ten minutes, firing recommenced with the ships to the leeward of the centre, and continued without intermission till three o'clock next morning: it then grew fainter, till about five, when it was resumed with redoubled fury; but on the

enemy's side this was the resistance of despair: at daybreak, the Guillaume Tell, and Généreux, the enemy's rearmost ships, were the only two of the line that had their colors flying; and in the forenoon, these cut their cables, and stood out to sea, with two frigates: the Zealous, worthy of her name, instantly commenced a pursuit; but as no other ship was in a condition to support captain Hood, the signal for his recall was hoisted: the firing continued in the bay, with some intermission, till two in the afternoon; and then it intirely ceased.

Thus ended an engagement, which will ever rank among the most distinguished achievements recorded in our naval annals: the result was, that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral's ship of 120 guns, and the Timoleon of 74, were burned; while two 80 gun ships, and seven seventy-fours, were captured: of the four frigates, one was sunk, and another burned; this latter being the Artemise, commanded by M. Estandlet, one of the many officers, who, in those times of republicanism, disgraced the French navy: for he first fired his broadside into the Theseus, like a coward, and immediately struck his colors; after which, like a scoundrel, he set the ship, no longer his own, on fire, and escaped to shore, with his whole crew, in the boats. The British admiral was firmly persuaded, that, if he had been more amply provided with frigates, all the enemy's transports and vessels in the bay would have shared the fate of their line: this deficiency he deeply felt; and in his forcible way of expressing himself, exclaimed; 'Should I die at the present moment, the want of frigates would be found written on my heart.' Our list of killed and wounded amounted only to 895: of the French, 3105, including those wounded, went on shore by cartel; while 5225 perished in the action; constituting a loss, during that glorious, but destructive night, of more than 500 human beings an hour! One British captain only fell; the brave Westcott, who was slain early in the action. The mind of Nelson, though occupied with numerous objects, after a victory so great, and at a moment of such seeming

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confusion, was not forgetful of the gratitude due to the great Disposer of events: accordingly, he transmitted orders to all the captains in his fleet, which they read to their crews, recommending them to follow the example of the flag-ship, in returning thanks to Almighty God for having blessed his majesty's arms with victory: and the service which was performed in each ship, on the second of August, is said to have made a remarkable impression on the minds of the prisoners on board.

The victory was celebrated throughout England with every sign of exultation. His majesty conferred the dignity of baron only,[11] with a pension of £2000 per annum, on the admiral; who was called to the house of peers by the style and dignity of baron Nelson of the Nile; but the king of Naples, with a better discernment of merit, honored the hero as he deserved, by granting to him the title of Duke of Bronté; to which a fine estate in Sicily was annexed: the grand signor also transmitted to him a superb diamond chelengk, or triumphal plume, taken from one of the imperial turbans. Captains Berry and Thompson received the honor of knighthood; and all the commanders were presented with swords and gold medals: the sultan sent also a purse of 2000 sequins, to be distributed among the wounded; and the British nation raised by subscription a very considerable sum for the widows and children of those who fell in the contest.

Nelson sent home his despatches by captain Berry, in the Leander, of fifty guns, commanded by captain Thompson. Unluckily, they fell in with the Généreux, just escaped from the battle, and were compelled to surrender to her great superiority of force, after a desperate resistance, which Nelson himself styled 'glorious,' and one that conferred high honor on those two able officers.[12] The Leander was carried into

[11] That Nelson felt this, appears from a letter addressed by him to his esteemed friend, sir Edward Berry; where he says,—'As to our honors, it is a proof, how much more a battle fought near England is prized, than one fought at a great distance.' An excuse was made, that he was not a commander-in-chief.

[12] See a letter in the United Service Journal, No. xxix. p. 509.

Corfu, after officers and men had been plundered of all they possessed, even to their clothes, and otherwise treated in the most illiberal manner: such generally is republican magnanimity.

Political effects of the battle of the Nile.

The political effects of the late action were instantaneous and surprising; the antagonists of France shook off their despondency, and a new spirit seemed to animate their councils. The British government, anticipating these sentiments, entertained hopes of reviving a coalition, for which many circumstances were favorable: the Austrians in fact regarded the treaty of Campo Formio merely as an armed truce, convenient for making preparations to renew the combat, and to recover lost advantages. The congress at Radstadt had proceeded very slowly in adjusting differences between the French republic and the princes of the empire; while various causes of dissent were either found or made: Russia had hitherto done little more than lend her name to the confederacy; and when, after the secession of Prussia, the czarina was preparing to act in reality, she was suddenly arrested by the hand of death: her successor, though weak in intellect, had high notions of hereditary power; and resenting deeply the expulsion of the Bourbon family from their legitimate authority, he determined to attempt their restoration; which appeared an easier task after the splendid victory of the Nile: the Turks also, indignant at the invasion of Egypt, manifested a determination to combine with the opponents of France. Our ministers, who were not slow in discovering these sentiments, endeavored to form a coalition more powerful than that which had just been broken up: nor did they confine their views to European powers; having strong hopes of drawing the United States also into the confederacy.

French disputes with America.

In 1797 many captures of American vessels had been made by French cruisers; and a farther decree on this subject was issued by the directory in January this year; declaring, 'that all ships having cargoes wholly or in part of English merchandise, should be deemed lawful prizes, whoever might be the pro-

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prietors; such being considered contraband, from the single circumstance of its coming from England or any of her settlements.' It also enacted that French harbors should be shut against all ships, except those in distress, which had even touched at an English port; and that neutral sailors, found on board English vessels, should be condemned to death.[13] The Americans, harassed by these proceedings, instructed their envoy to take measures for restoring harmony; but he was refused an audience by the directory, who, imputing this desire to fear, attempted to make a gain of it, by intimating, that if a treaty was to be renewed, the United States must advance a large sum for such a favour: but though the Americans were still anixous to avoid a rupture, which must necessarily be injurious to their commerce, this demand, striking at the very root of their independence, impelled them to make a struggle for their rights, while they had all Europe on their side; and as the French continued to demand a loan, capture their vessels, and use the most insulting language, congress at length granted letters of *marque* to individuals, took measures for establishing a powerful navy, and conferred the command of their army on Washington: the spirit of that veteran was roused by the insults offered to his country; he consented to lay aside all considerations of age or ease; and to lead his warriors once more to the tented field, provided he should not be called on to act until his presence was indispensable. At this period the destruction of the French fleet at Alexandria diffused joy over the Union; stimulating all against a government which appeared to be the disturber of social order, and inclining them to co-operate with an European confederacy that strove to curb its powers of mischief.

Amid the signal successes of Great Britain this year against foreign and domestic foes, she experienced one disappointment. An expedition was fitted out for the purpose of seizing ships and stores in Ostend, and

[13] The execution of this clause was prevented by a threat of retaliation on the part of Great Britain.

blowing up the sluices of the Bruges canal, in order to stop the internal intercourse that was kept up between Holland, Flanders, and France: the armament sailed on the eighteenth of May under captain Home Popham and major-general Coote; and was successful in its first effort to demolish the sluice-gates, and effect an explosion, which greatly damaged the basin: but when the soldiers wished to return on shipboard, they found a retreat impracticable, on account of wind and surf; and were therefore compelled to surrender. A small armament was also despatched against Minorca, under admiral Duckworth and general Stuart, which succeeded in taking the island without loss: in St. Domingo, however, disease made such havoc among our troops, that general Maitland was instructed to surrender Port-au-Prince and St. Marc to Toussaint L'Ouverture, a negro commander, who had almost annihilated French dominion in that island; and before the end of the year every other post was evacuated.

In the course of this year, sir Edward Pellew's squadron took fifteen cruisers; and the circumstances connected with one of these, La Vaillante, national corvette, were of more than common interest. She was bound to Cayenne, with prisoners: among whom were twenty-five priests, who had been condemned, for adherence to their principles, to perish in that unhealthy colony; also among the passengers were the wife and family of a banished deputy, M. Rovère, who had obtained permission to join him, and were going out with all they possessed, amounting to about £3000. The unfortunate prisoners were at once restored to liberty and comfort; and, when set on shore, were liberally supplied by sir Edward with means for their present sustenance: nor did that noble-hearted man fail to restore the whole of her property to the disconsolate wife; paying from his own purse the proportion which was due to his crew: to the commander of the prize he would not show those attentions which an officer in such a situation expects, until he had first ascertained that the severe

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and unnecessary restraint to which his prisoners had been subjected, (for they were found chained together) was the consequence of express orders from the French government.[14]

Meeting of parliament.

Parliament met on the twentieth of November, at a time when public discontent had been silenced by our maritime glory, and the power of government had been strengthened by the overthrow of rebellion in Ireland. His majesty's speech having bestowed a just tribute of applause on our naval heroes, expressed a hope that our successes would inspirit other powers to exert themselves for the deliverance of Europe: he entertained great expectations from the example of Russia and Turkey; which must afford much encouragement to all states struggling under the yoke of France, to adopt that vigorous conduct which their security and honor demanded. The supreme objects of parliamentary consideration were financial propositions with measures for internal defence, for invigorating the European confederacy now forming, and for effecting a permanent union between Great Britain and Ireland: the numbers demanded for our army and navy were somewhat greater than those of last year: the necessary supplies were stated as amounting to about £30,000,000; toward which the usual ways and means would produce £6,100,000: it remained then to be considered how the deficiency should be raised: and here two leading principles presented themselves; either to provide the whole by a loan, on the old system; or to raise a considerable portion within the year, according to the plan adopted last session. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to unfold his new

Income tax sanctioned.

scheme of finance: as the assessed taxes, from the number of modifications, had failed in their expected produce, he proposed, in lieu of them, to impose a direct tax on income; requiring a tenth from incomes of £200 and upwards, with a modified scale for all between £60 and that sum; the return to be made by the person assessed, subject to inspection by a surveyor, who should lay before certain commissioners

[14] See Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 178.

any grounds of doubt as to its fairness: the national income, with one-fifth deducted for modifications, he calculated at £102,000,000; on which a tax of ten per cent. would produce £10,000,000 per annum. To this proposition many and strong objections were urged: it was reprobated as involving the revolutionary principle, that all property belongs to the state; as leading to very inconvenient disclosures of property, especially in the case of commercial men: £200, it was said, was too low a rate to admit a subtraction of one-tenth; and the gradation ought to reach at least £500, to be compensated by increased deductions from larger incomes. With still greater justice it was asserted that the sources of income ought to be considered; that persons deriving a revenue from professional skill or personal industry, and seeking to make a provision for their families, ought not to pay in the same proportion as landed and monied capitalists, who were already secured against want, and on whose property, especially if inherited, the laws of society have large claims.

The unfair nature of this assessment could only be equalled by the unfairness of the arguments with which it was supported: the minister contended, that if two persons had each an income of £500, one of whom derived it from land and the other from his own industry, they ought both to be taxed equally at £50; for to complain of this inequality, was to complain of the distribution of property; it was to complain of the constitution of society! The consequence of this tax, he said, would be to all alike; and whoever contributed a tenth of his income under the bill, would have a tenth less to spend, to save, or to accumulate: the house divided; for the farther consideration of the report 183, against it 17. After undergoing several amendments, the bill passed into a law on the eighteenth of March, 1799, the fifth of April being the day fixed on for making the returns. From the facility of collection and of augmentation, such a tax as this must always be acceptable to government: why then, it may be said, should it not always be

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adopted; especially if the principle of an income tax be equitably adjusted on a graduated scale? An answer to this is, that every nation should encourage the accumulation of wealth or capital; for which purpose, government ought, as far as possible, to defray its expenses out of that part of the national income which is to be spent, not out of that which is meant to be accumulated: in the present instance, however, the exigences of the state were more important than the preservation of such a principle; and the fictitious prosperity of the country, raised by paper currency and the augmentation of commerce, caused the evil to be but slightly felt: besides, it was considered strictly as a war tax; and there was little to complain of, except the inequality of the assessment, and the consequent injustice done to individuals.

Treaty with Russia.

On the eighteenth of December, a provisional treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Russia; the general object of which was to concert such measures as might contribute most efficaciously to oppose the progress of French power; for which purpose his Britannic majesty engaged to furnish pecuniary means, to be paid monthly, and amounting in the whole to £1,125,000.

In a motion made by Mr. Tierney, stating 'that it was the duty of ministers to advise his majesty, in the present crisis, against entering into engagements which might prevent or impede negotiations for peace with the French republic,' Mr. Canning charmed the house by his eloquence, and inspired the country at large with admiration of his talents, while he entered into a full investigation of our foreign policy; vindicating the treaties and alliances already made, and preparing the public mind for those measures which were now meditated by the British cabinet. 'It is justly contended,' he said, 'that the deliverance of Europe cannot be effected by our exertions alone; and that unless other powers are sincerely disposed to co-operate, we are setting out on a romantic and absurd enterprise, which we have no chance of accomplishing, no duty or call to undertake. I perfectly agree, that if other

powers be not disposed to co-operate, we have no chance of success; but I cannot help asking, at the same time, if there be no such disposition on the part of other powers, where is the use, or what is the necessity, of the honorable gentleman's motion? Why need parliament interfere to prevent his majesty's ministers from taking advantage of dispositions which do not exist, and from accepting co-operation which will not be offered? but if the powers of Europe, or any of them, be ready to do their part toward the common salvation, and want only our countenance and encouragement to begin; if the train be laid; if the sparks of resentment, which the aggressions of France have kindled in every nation throughout Europe, want but our breath to blow them into a conflagration;—is it the dictate of our duty, our interest, or our feelings, to save France from destruction, and by a coarse and hasty proceeding, like that now recommended, to throw a wet blanket on the flames?' He then proceeded to show how an alliance with Russia and Turkey might enable us to sweep from the Mediterranean the scattered remnants of that piratical armament, the naval force of which had been so signally destroyed; and how the probable accession of other allies might wrest the Netherlands and Italy from the conqueror's grasp: he dilated on the glorious successes of the British arms; and reminded all who heard him, that they had concurred in an address to the throne, expressing a hearty hope that the opening, afforded by those successes, might lead to a general deliverance of Europe; and pledging themselves, in no equivocal manner, to assist with their voices and counsel in the prosecution of so important an object. He opposed the motion, as calculated to carry dismay and terror throughout Europe, while it administered hope, power, and confidence to France.

Mr. Pitt also eloquently displayed the favorable prospects of another coalition; but he unfortunately hazarded a glowing eulogy on the character of the prince who now swayed the Russian sceptre; dilating on the *magnanimity* of Paul! his zeal for *religion!* his

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love of *justice* and *social order!* whence might be inferred his consistency and fidelity in his political engagements. This brilliant picture of combined virtues made a powerful impression on the house; and on the security offered by the pious, honorable, and conscientious character of a madman, the sums required were voted: three millions more also were granted to his majesty for making good such other engagements as he might contract; and no long period elapsed, before a new combination was formed against the republic; in extent far greater than the former, but from that very circumstance liable to be proportionally checked in its operations. The first approach to this coalition was a declaration of war against France by the Porte, dissolving the oldest bond of amity in Europe: a more important advance was a treaty between Russia and England; though the former of those two powers had already contracted an alliance with Naples and Turkey: with Sicily England formed an alliance on the first of December; and with the Ottoman Porte on the fifteenth of January, 1799: on the twenty-first, Naples and Turkey also signed a treaty of union: the duration of these alliances was fixed for eight years: their conditions were, generally, a mutual guarantee of all possessions; including Egypt, in the case of the Porte; a common prosecution and termination of the war; the closing of all harbors, especially those in the Mediterranean, against French ships; with British subsidies to Russia and other states. But it was the accession of both, or at least one, of the leading powers in Germany, which could alone open the road to active operations: the obstruction, however, to the course of affairs at Radstadt, occasioned by the attacks on Rome and Switzerland, and the expedition to Egypt, as well as the increasing differences between the republic and Austria, left little room for doubt that this latter power might be gained; although Prussia, thinking to steer safely in the storm between Scylla and Charybdis, persisted in her neutrality: after fruitless negotiations at Selz, Austria began to contract closer relations with Russia and England, conceding to the

former state the mediation with Prussia respecting future indemnifications: the advance of a Russian army through the Austrian territories in December, gave clearer demonstration of her sentiments; and caused the French ambassador to issue a declaration on the second of January, 1799.

Campaign in Italy.

Italy, as usual, was destined to be the grand scene of action, to which all these negotiations tended; and on the plains of that devoted country the first skirmishes took place. After the erection of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, the democratic party became more widely spread, and caused in Rome itself the subversion of its government: on the tenth of February, that ancient capital of the world was occupied by French troops, in consequence of a popular insurrection; a Roman republic was proclaimed on the fifteenth; and on the twentieth, Pius VI., eighty years old, was carried off, with several cardinals, into exile: then it was that the liberation of the ecclesiastical states was undertaken by the weakest and most profligate court in Europe. 'The condition of Naples,' says Mr. Southey,[15] 'may be described in few words: the king was one of the Spanish Bourbons; and as the Cæsars have shown us to what wickedness the moral nature of princes may be perverted; so in this family the degradation to which their intellect can be reduced has been not less conspicuously evinced: Ferdinand, like the rest of his race, cared only for field sports; while his queen had all the vices of the house of Austria, with little to mitigate, and nothing to ennoble them: provided she could have her pleasures, and the king his sports, they cared not how the revenue was raised or administered. Of course a system of favoritism existed; and the vilest and most impudent corruption prevailed in every department of the state and every branch of administration.' A sense of better things, says the same excellent author, was kept alive in some of the Neapolitans by literature, and their intercourse with happier countries: these persons naturally looked to France at the commencement of the revolution; and

[15] Life of Nelson.

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during all its horrors, still cherished a hope, that by aid of that country, they might be enabled to establish a better order of affairs in their own: mistaken as they were in supposing that the true principles of liberty would ever be supported by France, they were right in believing that no government could be worse than their own; therefore they considered any change as desirable; and though many of the nobles and men of desperate fortunes desired revolution only to enrich themselves in the scramble, and on that account sold themselves to the French, some enlightened men joined in the same cause from nobler motives: but all were confounded by a corrupt, profligate court under the name of jacobins; and it is worthy of remark, as Mr. Southey has observed, that many of the continental jacobins were regarded by the English with far more hatred than they deserved: 'they were all classed with Marat and Hebert; whereas they deserved rather to be ranked, if not with Locke, Sidney, and Russell, at least with Argyle, Monmouth, and those, who, having the same object as the prime movers of our own revolution, failed in their premature, but not unworthy attempts. No circumstances could be more unfavorable to the best interests of Europe, than those which placed England in strict alliance with the superannuated and abominable governments of the continent: the subjects of those governments, who wished for freedom, thus became enemies to England, and dupes or agents to France: they looked to their own grinding grievances; and did not see the danger with which the liberties of the world were threatened; while England saw the danger in its true magnitude, but was blind to those grievances; and found herself compelled to support systems, which had formerly been equally the object of her abhorrence and contempt.' With such materials, can it be surprising that coalitions failed?

On the twenty-second of November, king Ferdinand put his army in motion against the French, having placed general Mack at its head, concerning whom, the only doubt now existing is, whether he was a

coward or a traitor: at that time he was extolled as a hero, to whom Europe might look for deliverance.[16] On the twenty-ninth, this redoubtable commander succeeded in making himself master of the Roman capital; while 5000 troops, conveyed by British ships, made an entrance into Leghorn: the success, however, was of short duration; for on the fifteenth of December, the Neapolitan troops suffered a signal defeat at Civita Castellana; which disaster was followed by the immediate evacuation of Rome, where they had made themselves much more hated by all parties than the French had been. After a series of defeats during a continued retreat, in which tents, baggage, and ammunition were all left behind, Ferdinand IV. was obliged to take refuge in disguise on board the British fleet; which immediately transferred him, with his family and treasures, to Palermo. Mack, under pretext of taking shelter from the fury of the *lazzaroni*, fled to the French general Championet, who, after two days of hard fighting in the streets against that extraordinary body of men, obtained complete possession of Naples about the middle of January: the king of Sardinia, in the mean time, finding it impossible longer to endure the insults and exactions of France, resigned his continental territories, and sailed under British protection to his insular capital: Tuscany also was soon occupied by French troops; but the important island of Sicily was preserved from their domination chiefly by the energy of Nelson; with whom sir Charles Stuart strenuously co-operated, hastening from Minorca with 1000 men to assist him in measures of defence. Such was the state of our foreign relations at the opening of the year 1799.

Union with Ireland considered.

The British ministers were not occupied solely about schemes of external operation; since plans

[16] At a review of his army before Nelson, he so directed the operations of a mock fight, that by an unlucky blunder his own troops were surrounded, instead of those of his adversary; on which the British admiral exclaimed with bitterness, 'that the fellow did not understand his business:' he was confirmed in this opinion, when told that general Mack could not move without five carriages.—Southey's Life.

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respecting the better management of our sister kingdom deeply engaged their attention: no true patriot could help wishing that the inhabitants of Ireland might attain to the same habits, manners, and improvements, which had made England the envy of Europe; and by what means could he hope to accomplish that purpose so effectually, as by combining the two governments, and binding up all their interests and concerns in a common union? Even supposing there were no other reasons which rendered such a junction desirable, the state of the continent seemed to dictate its policy at this period. France was proceeding to incorporate various small states into her huge mass, extending at the same time her principles and intrigues into every corner of Europe: in proportion as the power of that country increased, so ought the strength of her only real antagonist to be augmented; and if any particular part of the British empire had become open to the attacks of France, or of its republican friends in England, such an avenue of disunion ought immediately to be closed. On these accounts the union of England and Ireland was a favorite measure with Mr. Pitt; and that it was one of sound policy, few will venture to deny: in order, however, not to take the nation by surprise, a pamphlet was published, under ministerial auspices, by the under secretary, Mr. Cooke, styled—'Arguments for and against a Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered.' Thus the question was fairly brought before the public; and as it was supposed, that ministers thus declared their sentiments in favor of the measure, a vehement controversy arose; in the course of which, beside arguments in the newspapers, no less than thirty pamphlets issued from the Irish press before the end of the current year: counties, cities, and boroughs loudly declared their sentiments, generally adverse to the plan; especially the city of Dublin, which apprehended great injury from the withdrawal of so large a multitude as was collected within its walls during the sitting of parliament: the lawyers almost universally opposed the

measure; which they condemned at a public meeting, 'as a dangerous innovation:' it was, however, dangerous only to their private interests; since numbers of them got into the Irish house of commons, and raised themselves to notice by political contests: such opportunities they would lose by the removal of the parliament to England, on account of their obligation to attend the Irish courts. Few proceedings, however, are entitled to more attention than those of the Irish parliament; and these will come before us in the regular course of our narrative.

CHAPTER XLII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED).—1799.

Committee of secresy; new bill of restriction and other regulations —His majesty's message to parliament respecting a union with Ireland—Discussion, and address carried—The subject introduced into the Irish legislature, &c.—Government influence used in favor of it, &c.—Renewal of the subject in the British parliament—Mr. Pitt's resolutions as a basis of the measure—Conference between the two houses—Debates in the lords—. Speech of the lord-lieutenant at the prorogation of the Irish parliament—Supplementary militia—Mr. Wilberforce's annual motion—Parliament prorogued—King's speech—Affairs of India —Lord Teignmouth's policy—Administration of the marquis of Wellesley—Efforts of the new coalition in Europe—French system of attack—Operations in Germany under Jourdan, who is defeated—Massena takes the command—Operations in Italy and Switzerland—Events in Naples and Rome—Joint British and Russian expedition to Holland—Capture of Surinam—Exploits of the British navy—Bonaparte's conduct in Egypt—His flight to France, and establishment of a new government—Meeting of the British parliament; supplies, militia bill, &c.—State of the public mind inclined toward peace—Correspondence on this subject between Napoleon and the British government.

Parliamentary regulations.

THE suppression of jacobinical principles at home being considered equally necessary with the prosecution of foreign war, the report of a committee of secresy, appointed to inquire into the proceedings of British and Irish associations, led to a new bill of restriction: that committee imputed the mutiny of the fleet, and other evils, to these dangerous combinations, which held close communication with the French republic; and they gave it as their opinion, that an insurrection of a very alarming nature was meditated in London at the period of the Irish rebellion, which was only prevented by the seizure of certain

leaders, and the timidity of others. Following the advice given by the framers of this report, Mr. Pitt proposed, that his majesty should be empowered to transfer to any eligible place within the realm, persons detained on suspicion of treasonable practices, in order to prevent that facility of organisation and conspiracy, which the metropolis and other large towns afforded: he also advised that such societies should be declared illegal; those who continued members of them being subjected to fine or imprisonment, and in aggravated cases to transportation: debating clubs also were put under strict regulations; and to prevent the propagation of sedition through the press, the names of printers were required to be affixed to every publication. This bill, though strenuously opposed, was carried by large majorities: not long before, his majesty had strongly marked his displeasure against one of the most eminent politicians of the day, whose conduct was considered as affording encouragement to sedition among the lower orders: at a board of privy council on the twenty-fifth of May, when the clerk produced the list of counsellors, the king took his pen, and drawing it across the name of Charles James Fox, returned the book without any comment.[1]

Discussions on the union with Ireland.

On the twenty-second of January a message was received from his majesty, relative to the important measure of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, as an effectual method for defeating the design of our enemies to effect a separation of the two kingdoms; and for consolidating the power and resources of the British empire: this message was next day discussed in the commons; when Mr. Dundas moved and carried an address, importing that the house would proceed, with all due despatch, to a consideration of the several interests submitted to their attention. In the ensuing debates, no one more strenuously denied the justice and policy of the proposed union than Mr. Sheridan: he was answered in a

[1] This act of his majesty was attributed to a toast which Mr. Fox had given at the whig-club,—'The sovereignty of the people of Great Britain.' The name of Henry Grattan was soon afterwards erased, in consequence of the part he took in the tumultuous proceedings in Ireland.

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masterly speech by Mr. Canning; who, arguing the question on general principles, arrived at the conclusion to which they naturally conducted him: 'the object of the proposition,' he said, 'was most important: it was not the making of a provincial regulation; not the adjusting of an internal difference; not the arrangement of a plan for balancing parties: the object was nothing less than to secure Ireland to us and to herself, and thereby to promote the happiness and safety of the whole empire:' for the general opinion of the protestant party regarding this measure, he appealed to the ingenious work of Dr. Duigenan, in answer to Grattan. 'That gentleman,' said Mr. Canning, 'is well known to be decidedly hostile to the pretensions of the catholics; he insists on the necessity of their continued exclusion from a share in the legislature, or in the great offices of state; but he confesses that the necessity of exclusion would be done away with by the adoption of some plan similar to that proposed in his majesty's message: he states it as an unavoidable alternative, either that a plan of union be adopted, or some other method devised for the fortification of protestant ascendency: such a fortification Dr. Duigenan would fain build on the re-enactment of the popery code; but he admits this to be unnecessary in case of a union between the two countries. Ask now the other, the catholic party; and what is their answer? Why, let us have a union, or a continued struggle for that which you have hitherto denied us, a repeal of the remaining part of the penal code: in adopting the amendment of my honorable friend, and refusing to go into a consideration of the address, the house would put an end to the only great and comprehensive view which it has ever taken of the affairs of Ireland: the plans hitherto proposed respecting that country, except in the case of the Irish propositions, have generally been to answer some immediate purpose; to catch at a little popularity, by decrying one party and extolling another; and by echoing in this country the distractions and disturbances of that, whenever it has so happened that our

own affairs have furnished no immediate ground for popular declamation.'

The same day on which his majesty's message was delivered to the British senate, the session of the Irish parliament commenced; and the lord lieutenant brought the subject of a union regularly before it, by a recommendation similar to that laid before the other legislature. In the house of lords the address, approving such a measure was carried by a large majority; but in the commons it was opposed with great acrimony, and even with menaces of an armed resistance. During the course of this session, the subject was variously discussed; but, though the unionists were foiled in some questions, with the advance of time they obtained a small majority: it was not, however attempted to bring the matter to a final discussion at this time: meanwhile agents actively exerted themselves in tampering with members: inducing many strong opposers of the measure to vacate their seats, that others more pliable might be elected in their room; and not only during the session, but after its conclusion, government exerted its whole influence, lavishing the public money on all sides, and entering into numerous engagements, for the purpose of making proselytes. The opponents of the union also were active, but they were not supplied with the same powerful means: the populace of Dublin were violent against this measure, and expressed unbounded exultation when ministers were defeated in the house of commons: the enthusiasm of the capital, however, did not extend to the nation at large; the weight of the landed interest was in favor of the plan; while Cork, the second city in the kingdom, and most of the commercial towns, though greatly agitated and divided, took in general a proper view of its utility.

On the thirty-first of January the subject was again brought under consideration in the British parliament by Mr. Pitt; who, after expressing disappointment at proceedings in the Irish legislature, and eloquently expatiating on the necessity of a more intimate connexion between the two countries, proceeded to lay

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down certain resolutions for the basis of such a measure: these were, that the two islands shall be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; that the succession to the crown shall be limited and settled as at present; that the united realm shall be represented by one common parliament, in which a certain number of lords and commons, hereafter to be defined, shall have a seat for Ireland; that the churches of England and Ireland be preserved as now by law established; that the king's Irish subjects be intitled to the same privileges, in point of trade and navigation, as his British subjects, under certain regulations, relative to equality of duties, &c.; that the charge for payment of the interest of the debt of each kingdom, before the union, shall continue to be paid by Great Britain and Ireland separately; but that the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdoms shall be defrayed by them jointly, according to proportions to be settled by the parliament of each country before the union takes place; that all laws in force at the time of such union, and all the courts, civil or ecclesiastical, shall remain as now established, subject only to such alterations as circumstances may recommend to the united parliament.

The house divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair; ayes 140; noes 15; and after some farther debates, Mr. Pitt's propositions were carried by large majorities: on the fourteenth of February the report of the committee was brought up; when it was ordered, that a message be sent to the lords, requesting a conference concerning the best means of perpetuating and improving the connexion between the two kingdoms.

The proposed conference accordingly took place; and on the nineteenth of March lord Grenville moved, 'that the upper house do agree to the resolutions then submitted to its consideration by the commons;' which motion, though strenuously opposed, was carried without a division. On the eleventh of April, his lordship moved an address to the throne, which was supported

by the bishop of Llandaff, in one of the ablest speeches ever heard within that house.[2] 'If,' said he, 'I were to express my sentiments regarding the utility of this measure in few words, I would say, that it will enrich Ireland; that it will not impoverish Great Britain; but that it will render the empire, as to defence, the strongest empire in Europe.' Whether the Roman catholics, being a great majority of the people, had a right to some ecclesiastical establishment, and to the removal of all civil disabilities, was considered by the learned prelate as a very perplexing question; especially as the property, by which such establishment must be maintained, was principally in the hands of a small minority, to whom no direct and immediate benefit would accrue from it. 'Whenever,' said he, 'this question is agitated, (and the sooner perhaps it is agitated and settled, the better) I hope it will be remembered, that nothing can be expedient which is not just and lawful; but that many things may be right, just, and lawful, which may not, politically speaking, be expedient to be done.' Another question he considered of so difficult a nature, that the prospective wisdom of the most consummate statesman could not decide on it with any certainty: this was, whether our constitution would or would not undergo some change; and if any, what change, from the introduction of Irish members into the two houses of parliament? After detailing and commenting on the different opinions held in Ireland itself respecting the measure, he proceeded with the following observations:—

'I foresee, with great satisfaction, the time, when, if this union takes place, the whole state of Ireland will be changed: the overflow of British capital will, at a peace, instead of finding its way to France or America, settle there: it will, in time, convert the bogs of that country into corn-fields; it will cover its barren mountains with forests; it will dig its mines, cut its canals, erect its fabrics, explore new channels of commerce, and improve the old ones; in a word,

[2] It was so characterised by bishop Horsley, a political opponent of Dr. Watson. —See autobiography of the latter, p. 326.

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by supplying labor, it will render the people industrious, enlightened, contented, and happy. I, my lords, shall not live to see the effects of this measure; for great objects do not attain to their full perfection at once: but our posterity will see them, and will have cause to bless the enlarged policy of two legislatures, which, rising superior to petty jealousies, and sacrificing partial interests on the altar of general safety, have coalesced into one, for the benefit of both.'

The motion was carried without a division, though a protest was signed by the lords Holland, Thanet, and King: a committee was then named, consisting of lords Grenville, Minto, and Auckland, with the bishop of Llandaff, to draw up an address, in which the commons, at a second conference next day, were invited to join; and this proposal being agreed to, it was presented to his majesty in the most solemn manner, as the united address of both houses of parliament.

In Ireland all farther consideration of the bill was postponed to the first of August: it was, however, manifest that the court was determined to persevere; and the lord lieutenant, at the termination of the session, announced to the Irish legislature the resolutions and address which had been carried by that of Great Britain: he also declared, that his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when his subjects in both kingdoms should be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution.

Though there was now very little ground for apprehending an invasion, and the measures adopted respecting Ireland tended to prevent the recurrence of rebellion; yet vigilance was still considered necessary: the supplementary militia, therefore, was continued on the same footing as before. Mr. Wilberforce did not forget his annual motion for an abolition of the slave trade; but it had, this session, to encounter additional opposition, arising from the existence of a negro army in San Domingo, and from the efforts made to propa-

gate democratical principles through the West Indian islands. On the twelfth of July parliament was prorogued; when his majesty declared that the decision and energy of his ally, the emperor of Russia, and the intimate union established between them, would enable him to employ advantageously the powerful means entrusted to him, for establishing the safety and honor of this country, as well as the independence of Europe: he adverted also with satisfaction to the restored tranquillity of Ireland, and its future security, which could only be ensured by a perfect union.

Affairs of India.

Our contest with the French republic was not confined to Europe: the grand object of the Egyptian expedition had been to strike a blow at the commercial prosperity of Great Britain; and among various measures suggested for this purpose, none seemed more promising than the formation of alliances with the native powers of India. The intercourse with Tippoo Saib, during the administration of sir John Shore, who succeeded lord Cornwallis, was bounded by the execution of the treaty of Seringapatam: when his sons were restored, on its fulfilment in March, 1794, the officer who conducted them was authorised to make overtures toward a more amicable connexion; but on this occasion Tippoo disdained to practice hypocrisy, and received the proposition with studied coolness. The only other events which demand notice, beside the reduction of the Dutch settlements, are the death of Mohammed Ali, the old nabob of Arcot, in 1795; and that of Asuph u Dowla, vizir of Oude, in 1797; when his son, who was suspected to be spurious, was dethroned; and Saadut Ali, his uncle, ascended the musnud. In the beginning of 1798, the governor-general, who had been raised to the peerage by the title of lord Teignmouth, set sail for England, and was succeeded by the earl of Mornington, afterwards created marquis Wellesley.

Hostility of Tippoo Sultan.

At this period Tippoo Sultan, whose spirit of hostility remained unabated, had recruited his forces, and continued active in his intrigues with the French, the Mahrattas, and a party, discontented with the English,

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at the court of Hyderabad: the nizam, reduced in strength and reputation, no longer placed the same confidence as formerly in our government; but being disappointed in hopes which he had been led to entertain by lord Cornwallis, had thrown himself into the hands of a French faction highly dangerous to our government. The power of Dowlut Row Sindia had arrived at an alarming height, being acknowleged paramount over almost all the Mahratta territories: it had completely annihilated the independence of the peishwah's government, who exercised only a nominal rule in Poonah, under one of Sindia's officers; and thus the strength and resources of that state also became adverse to the English. Several opportunities had been omitted of checking the growth of Sindia's enormous power; but the system of neutral policy, prescribed by the authorities at home, had been so closely followed by the late governor, that no attempt was made to avert or influence the changes at Poonah, or to improve our alliance with the family of Sindia. 'Those who support this system,' observes sir John Malcolm,[3] 'must suppose that the legislature, when it imposed restrictions on ambition, and prohibited a policy which had conquest and extension of territory for its object, meant to deprive the local government of all power to adopt preventive measures against dangers which it might see in progress; and prescribe, as a political maxim to a great state, a total disregard to the concerns of its neighbors; in other words, to deny to it the exercise of that influence and power, which its previous wisdom and courage had acquired.'

The merits of such a system were fully tried during the administration of sir John Shore, who was sent out for the express purpose of making the experiment: the result proved, that no ground of political advantage could be abandoned, without its being instantly occupied by an enemy; also, that to resign influence, was not merely to resign power, but to transfer it into hands hostile to British interests. By such a system of inaction our government remained stationary, while

[3] History of India, vol. i. p. 190.

all around it was advancing; and being denied the means of adapting its policy to a change of circumstances, it not only lost the confidence of its allies, but encouraged the presumption of native powers, who ascribed its policy to weakness rather than to moderation.

Arrival of lord Wellesley.

The new governor arrived in Bengal on the seventeenth of May, 1798, at a period when the hostile designs of Tippoo were almost ready for execution; while the courts of the nizam and Sindia were under the influence of a French party, and that of Berar was adverse to British power. The country of Oude, and the Carnatic, were also in a very disturbed state: in addition to which difficulties, our finances were greatly exhausted by the equipment of large armaments for the reduction of the Dutch settlements. Lord Mornington had scarcely landed at Calcutta, when an overt act of hostility on the part of Tippoo, and French intrigues at Hyderabad, demanded all his exertions: but his comprehensive mind led him to reject every temporary and delusive measure of pacification: taking a general view of British power in India, and embracing the whole system of policy which it required, he proceeded to adopt measures for the introduction of that system; while he combined with it all the means requisite for averting present danger.

The triple alliance formed by lord Cornwallis,[4] as a barrier against the future attempts of Tippoo, had gone to decay through the neutral policy of our government; while the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad were likely to act against us, in case of a rupture with the tyrant of Mysore: to recover therefore the efficient aid of those two powers, or at least to prevent their hostility, was the grand aim of our present governor. His first attempt was directed toward the court of Hyderabad, which had engaged a large body of well-disciplined French troops in its service; and by means of Azeem ul Omrah, the nizam's chief minister, he succeeded in forming an improved alliance with that potentate: at the same time, 14,000 foreign troops in

[4] Between the nizam, the peishwah, and Great Britain.

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his service, possessing a train of artillery, as well as an arsenal full of military stores, were completely disarmed. Negotiations were also carried on at Poonah, and the measures taken at Hyderabad regularly communicated to the peishwah; but that prince, influenced by weak counsellors, or acting under the control of Dowlut Row Sindia, absolutely refused to acknowlege any right in our government to arbitrate in his disputes; and after a negotiation, marked by evasion on the part of the peishwah, and duplicity on that of Sindia, the governor-general was obliged to proceed in his operations against the sultan, without any satisfactory settlement with those chiefs.

No long time elapsed before the hostile design of Tippoo became manifest: the whole tenor of his proceedings, subsequent to the peace concluded with lord Cornwallis, had exhibited an implacable spirit of revenge: his intrigues at Hyderabad, his embassies to Poonah, to the Mauritius, Persia, and Turkey, all resulted from the same spirit, though no overt act had taken place before the arrival of lord Mornington. Immediately after that period, a dispute arose respecting a boundary in Wynaud;[5] on which occasion, the impropriety of Tippoo's moving a body of troops toward the districts in dispute, had been noticed in such conciliatory terms, that he had no pretext to complain: it was, therefore, with astonishment, that the governor-general in June 1798, heard of the arrival of Mysorean ambassadors at the isle of France; and of the proclamation there issued, inviting volunteers to enter into the service of their master, who was represented as ready to commence an attack on the English in concert with the French government: after instituting a strict inquiry into these proceedings, and being convinced that the object of Tippoo was no other than that avowed in his correspondence with the enemy, to expel us from India, he could not but consider this admission of French forces into Mysore as an unequivocal desire, if not a declaration, of war: having, therefore, taken all the precautionary

[5] Sir John Malcolm's History of India, vol. i. p. 212.

measures which good policy dictated, he addressed a letter to the sultan, expostulating with him on the system he had adopted, and requesting him to state fully those means which might banish distrust, and establish a good understanding permanently between the two powers: to be prepared, however, for every event, lord Mornington determined to proceed in person to Madras; so that, being near the scene either of negotiation, or of military operations, he might avoid the evils of delay: he accordingly informed Tippoo of this resolution; and having reached Fort St. George on the thirty-first of December, he there found a reply to his former letter from the sultan.[6]

The character drawn of this tyrant by an accurate and impartial observer, will account for the evasive nature of the communication now made to the governor-general, as well as for the unsatisfactory conclusion of the correspondence. 'Cruelty and deceit,' says sir Thomas Munro,'[7] 'were the two great engines of his policy; not that kind of deceit which attempts to overreach by cunning, but downright lying: he, perhaps, never made a promise, or entered into an engagement, without considering, at the same instant, how it was to be broken.' Another eminent writer speaks of this 'daring, subtle, and politic man,' as one of the most remarkable that have appeared in modern times. His ferocious tyranny to his own subjects; his cruel delight in religious persecution, which increased his power with the other bigots of his own persuasion; his inextinguishable hatred of the English, whom he had been from his cradle taught to regard as the implacable enemies of his family; these, though they undoubtedly form dark features in his character, augmented rather than lessened his influence in the peninsula, and made him an object of terror to all whom admiration of his better qualities—his valor, perseverance, address, and patriotism—might fail to

[6] In this reply, he repeated his professions of unalterable friendship for the English; expressed his bad opinion of the French; and asserted, that the reputed embassy to the Mauritius was merely a mercantile speculation of his subjects, &c.—Sir John Malcolm's History, vol. i. p. 223.

[7] See the life of that officer, vol. i. p. 219.

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captivate. Although his fierce Mussulman zeal alienated him from all christian nations, yet did his still fiercer animosity against the English so far conquer, or assuage his fanaticism, as to make him court whatever power was hostile to our interests: accordingly his constant endeavor was to gain the friendship and co-operation of France.[8] Not before the month of February, 1799, did the governor-general find himself compelled to abandon all hopes of amicable adjustment,[9] and to move forward the forces which he had prepared to defeat the enemy's design: these consisted in two formidable armies; one under general Stuart, at Bombay; the other under general Harris, at Madras; which latter was supported by a body of the Nizam's troops; while an independent corps, collected in Baramahl under colonel Read, was ready to facilitate the operations of the grand army, by supplying it with provisions and stores. General Harris was still empowered to treat with the tyrant, if he showed a sincere desire for peace; though its terms were of course to depend on that stage of the war at which negotiations might commence: this, however, was scarcely to be expected from one so inveterate in his hatred of the British, stimulated to revenge by his most intimate connexions,[10] and supported in his resolutions by the confident assurances of French officers.

Commencement of the Mysorean war.

The sultan, as soon as he perceived the advanced state of preparations, hastened to attack general Stuart's army, which was in the country of Coorg, ready to co-operate in the reduction of his capital: he had obtained accurate information of paths leading through the woods, to the rear of our advanced brigade, which he intended to assail; and the first intimation which the British general had of this design, was the

[8] Lord Brougham's Lives of Statesmen, vol. iii. p. 280.

[9] The terms contemplated were, the establishment of the company's residents at Seringapatam, the dismissal of all French troops in his service, and the perpetual exclusion of Frenchmen from his armies and dominions.

[10] 'He was continually urged to war,' says sir Thomas Munro, 'by Seid Saheb; who, being his father-in-law, could take that liberty. In private conferences, when only a secretary was present, Saheb used to ask him, how long they were to sit down quietly under disgrace and calamity; and to tell him that he had considered him dead as a prince, from the day when he surrendered half his country.'—vol. i. p. 217.

unexpected sight of his tents: even then he did not believe that Tippoo himself was there, but only an inconsiderable detachment. 'If the sultan,' says sir Thomas Munro,[11] 'had not been so foolish as to discover himself, by pitching his tents at Periapatam; had he remained that day in the open air, and marched early next morning against colonel Montresor's brigade, he would without doubt have cut it off, and, probably, a large part of the army.' Being repulsed, however, in this attack with great loss, his next object was to obstruct the progress of general Harris, whom he met between Sultanpet and Malavelly on the twenty-seventh of March: a partial action then took place, which terminated in Tippoo's defeat, and immediate retreat to Seringapatam: after this, our army advanced without any opposition; and, on the fifth of April, took up its ground to besiege the capital. On the fourteenth, the Bombay division effected a junction; but on the eighteenth, the alarming discovery was made, that provisions for eighteen days only, at half allowance, remained in the camp; operations therefore were prosecuted with extraordinary vigor. On the ninth of April, the sultan had sent a letter to general Harris, to know the cause of hostilities; and the answer referred him to letters which he had before received from the governor, fully explaining that subject. No reply was sent till the twentieth, when the operations of the siege were far advanced: he then requested a conference with some confidential agent, for the purpose of restoring peace; but the general's rejoinder consisted in a draught of the treaty which he had been instructed to conclude under such circumstances of advantage: all communication then ceased; and the tyrant placed his sole confidence on being able to hold out till the Cavery should be full, or his enemies obliged to raise the siege for want of provisions: at this period, he seldom went to his palace, but spent most of his time sitting within a cavalier,[12] or visiting the ramparts, according as the incidents of the siege

[11] Vol. i. p. 217.
[12] A raised work on the fortifications.

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impelled him. The angle attacked was of such a nature, that an intrenchment, to isolate it, might easily have been effected; and this measure was counselled by his most judicious officers: but he seemed to have lost all his wonted energy since the last communication of general Harris; and in that state of stupor he continued, till a breach was nearly made in his fortress. The effect produced by the artillery of the besiegers was actually concealed from him by his principal officers; until one of his servants, impatient at hearing their false reports, called out, that a breach was made, and would soon be practicable: this intelligence seemed to rouse him; on the following morning, he repaired thither, and having viewed with amazement the condition of the wall, shook his head, returned to his old station behind the cavalier, and remained buried in thought. Bigoted as he was, his apprehensions induced him to invite the aid of Hindoo prayers and ceremonies to avert impending calamity; also to send for an astrologer, who might draw, if possible, favorable omens from the stars: the aspect of Mars, however, was declared to be unfavorable; and the sultan was recommended to propitiate fate by the prescribed oblations. On the last morning of his life, in pursuance of these directions, he went to the palace, bathed, and presented the offerings: he also attempted to ascertain the aspect of his fortunes, by observing the form of his face reflected from a jar of oil; and drank water out of a black stone as a charm against misfortune: about noon he sat down to his usual repast; but before he had finished it, a report was brought that the assault had commenced; when he ordered the troops to stand to their arms, and, with his body guard, hastened to the outer ramparts.

The time destined for attack was at one o'clock, when the natives are accustomed to repose after their noonday meal; but to prevent the enemy from being put on their guard, our troops were placed in the trenches before daylight, where they remained in silent expectation of the signal. Their appointed leader was that distinguished officer major-general

Baird, who had solicited the dangerous service; and the sight of those walls, within which he had been immured nearly four years, with the prospect of avenging the wrongs he had seen and suffered, excited in his mind a degree of animation, which communicated itself to his followers: two days only had elapsed since many British prisoners, his former companions in captivity, having been brought out of confinement, were ordered to work the guns against their countrymen; and when they refused this service, their heads were struck off by the tyrant's order. At length, the moment of assault arrived; our troops crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery, under a severe fire; a forlorn hope advanced to the breach, where it was met by a small but gallant band of Mysoreans: the greater portion of both fell in the struggle; but in less than seven minutes, the British colors were seen floating on the walls.

Capture of Seringapatam.

It had been agreed, that as soon as the assailants mounted the rampart, one-half should wheel to the right and the other to the left, so as to form a junction over the eastern gateway: the right, led by Baird, met with little resistance; but the left was vigorously opposed: its commander, colonel Dunlop, received a wound in the ascent; and the sultan passed by as the column quitted the breach: a succession of well-constructed traverses were stoutly defended, and a flanking fire of musketry from the inner rampart greatly annoyed the assailants; but the gallantry of British soldiers could not be withstood: the enemy was forced from one traverse to another, till they perceived the column which had advanced to the right, over the eastern gate, ready to fall on their rear; when they broke, and hastened to escape. The tyrant himself, abandoned by his followers, was making his way toward an entrance of the interior fortress, called the water-gate, when he received a musket-ball in his right side: in this passage, his horse fell; the road was choked up; and almost every one in the gateway was slain.

Death of Tippoo.

Though he had several wounds, he still breathed, and continued alive more than an hour: at last, a soldier,

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in quest of plunder, attempted to pull off the rich sword-belt of the sultan; but, having retained his sabre, Tippoo made a cut with all his remaining strength, and wounded him in the knee; on which the man raised his musket to his shoulder, and shot him through the head; the ball entering his right temple, and passing through the left jaw. It was for a long time thought that he had concealed himself in the palace; and many were anxiously searching it, in order to put him to death for the murders which he had committed, until his killedar protested that the sultan had fallen at the water-gate: as it was then dark, a party proceeded thither with lights; when his palanquin was found, and under it the rajah khan, a confidential servant, who was wounded; and who pointed out the spot where his master lay. After many bodies had been dragged out, that of the tyrant himself was discovered and conveyed to the palace; where it was exposed to public view next day, in order that no doubts might remain as to his death: it was then buried with military honors, in the superb mausoleum of his father, Hyder Ali. In the harem were found 650 females, including his numerous wives and concubines: his private stud consisted of 3120 horses, 99 elephants, and 175 camels: many tigers, and chetahs trained for hunting, were found in a court-yard; the former of which were shot, to prevent accidents; and some of the latter were transported to England. His magnificent throne, worth 60,000 pagodas, was broken up; but many other rich articles, particularly a tent of extraordinary size and grandeur, were sent home as trophies.

Thus ended the short-lived dynasty, founded by a daring adventurer on the ruins of the Hindoo house of Mysore. Tippoo fell in his forty-seventh year; from his earliest youth deceitful, cruel, and intractable. 'If he had qualities fitted for empire,' says colonel Wilks, 'they were strangely equivocal; the disqualifications were obvious and unquestionable: nor will the decision of history be far removed from the observation, almost proverbial in Mysore, that Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one.'

Vigorous policy of lord Wellesley.

The English were now masters of Mysore; but the momentous question still remained—how to dispose of it? The plan adopted by our governor-general was a partition of the country between the English and their allies, on the principle of indemnification and security, with a reserve of territory for a pageant rajah of the old Hindoo dynasty; since no tranquillity could be expected under Tippoo's heir. Having appropriated to themselves the whole territory possessed by the sultan on the Malabar coast, the company ceded to their ally, the nizam, a tract yielding an equal revenue, in the districts of Gooty, Gorumcondah, and the country lying along a line of the great forts of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundidroog, and Colar; but without the possession of those fortresses. The share reserved for the Poonah government, on certain conditions, comprised Harponelly, Soondah, Annagoody, with part of the territory of Chittledroog and Bednore; but as the peishwah, under the dictation of Dowlut Row Sindia, declined the alliance proposed to him, the reserved territory was divided between the company and the nizam. As soon as the sons and family of Tippoo Sultan were removed to Vellore, where a very magnificent establishment was secured to them, Kistna Rai Oudawer, a child three years old, was raised to the ancient throne of his ancestors; and Purneah, a Brahmin of great ability and reputation, who had been chief financial minister of Tippoo, was made dewan to the young prince: at the same time, sir Barry Close was appointed political resident, supported by the military co-operation of colonel Wellesley,[13] whose merit had been most conspicuous in the war: and who now applied his splendid abilities to heal the wounds which that war had made. There was no double government or conflicting authority; but every office, civil and military, was left to be filled by natives: thus the submission and gratitude of the people were secured; while the governor was enabled to dismiss the nizam with a less share of Tippoo's spoils, than if the

[13] The present duke of Wellington.

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English had undisguisedly taken what was thus adroitly brought beneath their dominion.

The jealous and hostile spirit of the Mahrattas, as well as the conflicts with which the southern part of the peninsula was threatened from the distracted state of the peishwah's government, strongly pointed out the necessity of rendering our alliance with the nizam more efficient: to secure this important point, nothing appeared better adapted than to augment the number of our subsidiary forces, and to commute his monthly payment of subsidy for a cession of territory; by which means an end would be put to that recurrence of irritation, which always attends pecuniary payments from sordid or profligate courts: thus the resources for supporting an important force would be more directly in the hands of the British government; and any future subahdar of the Deccan would be less desirous of dissolving the connexion. This treaty was concluded on the twelfth of October, 1800. The revenue of the ceded territories was about 17,580,000 pagodas; but their local situation greatly increased the security of the company's possessions on the Coromandel coast, as well as their latter acquisitions in Mysore. In this year, lord Mornington equipped an expedition to Egypt; and a considerable force, under sir David Baird, being sent up the Red Sea, marched from Suez to Alexandria; presenting the unusual spectacle of a British army, composed chiefly of the natives of India, on the shores of the Mediterranean. When the governor-general returned to Calcutta, one of the most important objects of his policy was to reduce part of the mutinous and useless military establishment of the nabob of Oude, and to increase the efficient force supplied by the company, for the defence of that province, which was much exposed to foreign attack, as well as internal tumults. Saadut Ali, however, either from weakness, or the wicked designs of an interested rabble surrounding him, was induced to offer serious obstacles to this measure; but all difficulties were surmounted by the inflexible perseverance

of the marquis Wellesley,[14] who at length concluded a treaty, by which the territories of the company were interposed, as a barrier, between the dominions of the vizir and foreign foes; while the actual net receipts from these districts did not exceed what he had previously paid as a fixed subsidy; and fell below the sum to which he had become liable under the treaty concluded by lord Teignmouth: the company found ample remuneration in the cessation of disputes, in the substitution of its own troops for those of the vizir, and in the prospect of an augmented revenue, under a better management, from provinces ruined by misrule and oppression.

In like manner, the affairs of the Carnatic were satisfactorily arranged: when his lordship arrived at Madras, in 1799, to prosecute the war against Tippoo, he found the nabob of that province, Omdut ul Omrah, acting more like an enemy than a friend; and soon after the capture of Seringapatam, documents were discovered among the private records of the sultan, exhibiting evidence of a secret intercourse carried on with this chieftain, for purposes hostile to British authority, and in direct violation of treaties. The governor, in the first instance, contented himself with ordering the Madras government to prosecute inquiries into the nabob's conduct, while he transmitted to England proofs of his correspondence with Tippoo: at the same time, he directed that no decisive steps should be taken unless the nabob should die; an event which was not improbable, from the bad state of his health: in that case, they were authorised to raise one of two persons to the musnud—Ali Hussein, the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah; or Azeem u Dowla, the acknowleged son of Ameer ul Omrah; but under the previous condition of his resigning to the company the civil and military administration of the Carnatic, while he received an annual stipend adequate to the support of his rank.

The result of the inquiry instituted by lord Clive, then governor of Madras, went to establish the trea-

[14] He was raised to this rank in December, 1799.

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chery of Omdut ul Omrah; and the report strongly recommended our assumption of the government of the Carnatic, under certain provisions: the governor-general, however, contented himself with instructing his lordship to negotiate a treaty with the nabob; and to make him acquainted with the proofs of his treachery possessed by the British government, for the purpose of procuring his consent to the terms proposed. At this time, however, the state of the nabob's health prevented lord Clive from taking any immediate steps; but he soon had occasion to send troops, to occupy the palace, on the approach of that potentate's decease, to preserve order and prevent pillage. On the fifteenth of July, 1801, the nabob expired; when a conference was immediately held with the two guardians of Ali Hussein; but as no terms could be made with them on the basis proposed, it was found necessary to see Ali Hussein, and receive from him in person a final answer to proposals, in which his interests were so deeply concerned. After great difficulty, this interview was obtained; and the youth, then eighteen years of age, was introduced to colonel Close and Mr. Webbe, the two British commissioners, by whom he was informed of all that had passed; and by whose advice he professed that he would be guided: he afterwards had a conference with lord Clive, to whom he stated that he had been deceived by his guardians, and that he was willing to conclude a treaty on the proposed terms; but after a communication with those nobles, he retracted all that he said, and declared his fixed resolution to abide by their decision. On this, lord Clive, in a second interview, left no argument untried to convince the youth that he was misled to his own ruin; but in vain; for Ali Hussein remained immovable; so that colonel Close and Mr. Webbe were deputed to open negotiations with the prince Azeem u Dowla, if access to him could be obtained; for he was kept in rigorous confinement; and there was reason to fear for his life, if his intended elevation should be disclosed. In this case, accident removed the difficulty: Ali Hussein's guardians, impatient of delay, placed their

ward upon the musnud privately; on which, the company's troops were ordered to occupy the palace; when Azeem u Dowla was liberated; who, after two interviews with the commissioners, concluded a treaty on the twenty-fifth of July, and obtained possession of the throne. The most splendid achievement, however, of lord Wellesley's policy remains to be described.

From the conclusion of the treaty of Salbhye, the Mahrattas had respected our territories, and those of our allies, which we were bound to protect; particularly, as in one quarter only, that of Oude, the respective boundaries were contiguous: besides, both Madhajee Sindia, and his successor, Dowlut Row Sindia, had been too intent on consolidating their power in Hindostan to offend the company by any encroachment on its ally: but the causes of this forbearance were now removed; and that neutrality, which we thought recompensed by temporary exemption from attack, left us, in its result, exposed to the most imminent dangers.[15]

In the other quarters of India our territories had long been remote from those of the Mahrattas; but when our course of policy led us to form a closer alliance with the nizam, and to take the country of Mysore under protection, we virtually succeeded to all the local and political relations which subsisted between the Mahrattas and those states; and as scarcely a year had ever passed without witnessing disputes, and as the causes of such disputes were interwoven in the very system of Mahratta government; there was no way for us to avoid them, except by abandoning treaties and conquests, or by effecting a change in that system. Of these methods, the latter alone appeared honorable or secure; and the divided state of the Mahratta empire afforded some prospect of success.

The first and most necessary step to be taken was an alliance with the peishwah, which should not only secure him in the enjoyment of his hereditary possessions, but give him an interest in preserving the peace

[15] See History of India, by Sir John Malcolm.

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of the Deccan; for without this, we could maintain no engagements with the court of Hyderabad or of Mysore, unless by the ruinous expedient of keeping up a large army on the frontiers. In the beginning of 1801, the occurrence of war between Jeswunt Row Holkar and Sindia had obliged the latter to move from Poonah; and the distraction which this event created among the Mahratta states seemed to offer a favorable opportunity of alliance: indeed, the peishwah himself proposed such a measure; but the conditions annexed to it, of which the sole object was to re-establish his power, without permitting our government to exercise that influence which was necessary for the security of itself and its allies, soon broke off all negotiation. During the contest which took place in 1802, between Dowlut Row Sindia and Holkar, the peishwah Badjerow had joined the former, whose army sustained a signal defeat near Poonah on the twenty-fifth of October: he then fled from his capital, after sending to colonel Close, our resident, a writing, sealed with his own signet; in which he consented, for the sake of British protection, to receive a subsidiary force, and to cede territory, either in Guzerat or in his southern dominions, producing a revenue of twenty-six lacs of rupees: this proceeding led to the treaty of Bassein, by which the British government bound itself to furnish the peishwah with six battalions of native infantry; also with a *parc* of artillery, and European gunners. All claims on Surat, and the districts under our protection in Guzerat, were finally adjusted; while Badjerow agreed to abide by the company's arbitration in his unsettled disputes with the subahdar of the Deccan, and to discharge from his service natives of any nation hostile to the English.

To facilitate the complete execution of this treaty, the Madras army, under general Stuart, advanced to the Toombuddra; while general Wellesley moved forward in co-operation, with a subsidiary force from the Deccan under colonel Stevenson, and reached Poonah on the twentieth of April, 1803. The troops of Holkar then fled, and the peishwah was restored to

his throne on the thirteenth of May: the prospect, however, of concluding this great measure of policy without a war soon appeared clouded by the advance of Dowlut Row Sindia and the bhonselah or rajah of Berar, toward the frontiers of our ally, the nizam; as well as by evasions, with which these chiefs treated the different proposals offered by our resident at Sindia's court. This potentate objected not to our interference for the restoration of the peishwah's power, as long as he saw a prospect of its being usurped by Holkar, or thought that our policy might aid his efforts for the destruction of his rival; but when he found that Holkar had retired, and the peishwah was restored without his assistance, he altered his plans, and determined to resist the treaty which he had at first approved: he therefore concerted measures with the bhonselah, who had never been cordial with our government, and was known to cherish hopes of obtaining the office of peishwah for himself. After a strange course of menace and dissimulation on his side, and the most earnest endeavors to preserve peace on a firm basis by the governor-general, the British resident quitted Sindia's camp on the third of August; and hostilities commenced, on the eighth; when general Wellesley attacked the fortress of Ahmednughur. Long and painful were the negotiations that preceded a war, the justice and necessity of which can be denied only by those who deny the wisdom of that policy which destroyed the inveterate enemy of our name, Tippoo Sultan; for without acquiring an influence in the councils of the Poonah state, we never could have fulfilled the engagements in which the Mysorean war had involved us. To detail military operations between the British government and these Mahratta chiefs, in which the future conqueror of Napoleon displayed those abilities which afterwards astonished Europe, would be inconsistent with our prescribed limits: they continued only five months; but were marked by a succession of the most brilliant and decisive victories. The battles of Delhi, Assaye,[16]

[16] 'In the conduct of this great battle,' says a very acute observer, 'every thing

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and Arghaum, the reduction of Agra, Allyghur, Gwalior, and other strong forts, with a number of inferior conquests, were crowded into that short, eventful period; and the confederated chiefs were at length compelled to escape, by negotiation and submission, that ruin which their arms were unable to avert. The rajah of Berar first came to terms on the seventeenth of December, 1803, ceding Cuttack to the company; and all his share of the provinces of Berar, westward of the Wurdah, to the nizam; engaging to keep in his service no enemy of England; while the company undertook to arbitrate all differences between him, the nizam, and the peishwah. Soon afterwards Sindia also negotiated a peace; by which he ceded to the company his territories in Hindostan, north of Jypore, Joudpore, and Gohud, with the fort and territory of Baroach, as well as all lands south of Adjuntee; renouncing every claim on the company, or on their allies, the nizam, the peishwah, and the family of Gwickar in Guzerat: this connexion with Sindia was cemented by a defensive alliance in February, 1804, similar to that of Poonah; by which he became intitled to the assistance of six battalions of sepoys.

But the Mahrattas were not yet subdued. Holkar, during the progress of hostilities, had remained in Malwah, levying contributions both on friends and foes, and scarcely crediting the accounts which he received of the rapid victories of the British; so that the time for co-operation had passed by, when he made his hostile designs apparent by moving up toward the Jypore territory, to solicit aid from the rajpoots, the rajah of Bhurtpore, and the Seiks: he also despatched an envoy to Sindia, urging him to break his engagements with the company; but that chieftain was so exasperated against Holkar himself, that he disclosed this circumstance to the British resident: farther correspondence of a hostile nature was discovered; but, as it was scarcely deemed credible that he meditated

was right: general Wellesley gave to every part of his army its full share; left no part of it unemployed; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed, at the very moment that it was most necessary.'—Life of Sir T. Munro, vol. i. p. 354.

war, he received an invitation to send commissioners to general Lake's head-quarters at Ramghur, for the purpose of effecting an amicable arrangement: but when they came, they made such extravagant demands, that they were dismissed with a proper rebuke to their master. In the mean time, he made an attack, though it proved unsuccessful, on a fortress belonging to Sindia, now one of the company's allies; and afterwards commenced plundering the territories of the rajah of Jypore: at length, the governor-general, fully apprised of his insolent demands and his more than equivocal proceedings, issued orders to generals Lake and Wellesley to march against him with all their forces. The principal conduct of this war fell on general Lake, who conducted it with consummate skill, though its great success was chequered by some serious reverses: these, however, did not prevent the destruction of Holkar's power from being effected before the close of lord Wellesley's administration. The battle of Deeg was fatal to his regular infantry and artillery; while that of Futtyghur intirely broke the spirit of his cavalry: the strongest of his fortresses, Chandore and Gaulnah were also taken; and although he had found means to involve Sindia again in the quarrel, this rapacious boaster, in April 1805, retreated across the Chumbul, with an army reduced, from 40,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, and more than 200 pieces of cannon, to a miserable remnant of 10,000 horse and 5000 foot: peace was not immediately concluded with him; but his future efforts served only to show how completely he had been depressed.

Departure of lord Wellesley.

Lord Wellesley left India on the twentieth of August, 1805, soon after the marquis Cornwallis, who had been appointed to succeed him, had arrived at Fort William. A glance at the state of India, when his departure took place, will show how completely the wise and enlarged measures of his policy were fulfilled. The designs of the French against the British government, as far as they relied on its Indian subjects, were intirely defeated. The old emperor of Delhi, who had

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been long in the hands of the Mahrattas, and latterly of the French party, now enjoyed repose under British protection. Secunder Jah, nizam or subahdar of the Deccan, who had succeeded his father in 1803, was confirmed in a steady alliance with the company, maintaining a strong subsidiary force, with large acquisitions of territory by the cessions of Berar: the cruel government of Tippoo Sultan was annihilated, and the family, whose throne had been usurped by Hyder Ali, restored; while the reduction of the Mahratta chiefs, Sindia, Holkar, and the bhonselah, gave a security to the Deccan, which it had not enjoyed for many ages: besides, the British government was established over the whole of the Duab, and along the right bank of the Jumna; whilst in a line of small states, from the mountains of Cumaoun to Bundelcund, a barrier was established against future incursions of the Mahrattas: the rich province of Bundelcund was subdued; and the countries ceded by the vizir in 1801, were completely settled, and improved in revenue, to that prince's own satisfaction. Thus lord Wellesley's administration changed the whole face of affairs; giving a new character to the British power in India, which thus became paramount to every other; for the discontent of Sindia, and the continued hostility of Holkar, scarcely affect the question; since the condition of those chiefs was such, as to preclude any apprehension of evil from their attacks, beyond a short continuation of the embarrassment existing in the finances: this indeed had been unavoidable, but it promised to be merely temporary, in consequence of the improving revenue and great reductions commenced by the governor-general. A considerable degree of excitement was raised in England by indistinct and exaggerated fears, from partial and distorted statements of his lordship's policy: he had been sent out to annihilate French influence in India; and, in accomplishing that object, he had been, as it were, compelled to effect conquests; forbidden enterprises, discouraged by the British legislature, and even branded as criminal! he had been entrusted with a commission, which it was

impossible to execute without exceeding it; and he was condemned for his very success. These feelings were rendered more general among persons connected with the company, by the alarming increase of their debt: but truth in the end prevailed; and of all the eminent men who have administered our affairs in the East, no one has secured a larger share of admiration than the nobleman, whose conduct we have been considering: yet at this period popular clamor was loud; and not only the directors, but even ministers participated in the prejudice against him; so that the return of the marquis Cornwallis was solicited on all sides, as if the safety of the country depended on his presence. Though the health of that venerable nobleman was now declining under accumulated years and infirmities, he still felt the enthusiasm which belongs to a good man, at the prospect of rendering a last service to his country: accordingly, he bade adieu to his native shores; and hastened to that land, which had been formerly distinguished by his government, and in which he was destined soon to lay his bones.

Progress of the allies.

The present year was rendered memorable on the continent of Europe by efforts of the new coalition. The French, as we have seen, had totally changed the system of war: their tactics consisted in pressing the enemy without intermission; seeking opportunities to engage; and keeping their forces in a compact body, instead of dividing them to invest cities and fortresses: the present plan of the directory was similar to that formerly pursued; an invasion of the hereditary states of Austria, with a junction of the French armies under the walls of Vienna: for this purpose, it was intended that the army of the Danube, consisting of 65,000 men, under Jourdan, should cross the Rhine, traverse the defiles of the Black Forest, and, extending itself into Suabia, turn the lake of Constance and the southern part of the Tyrol; that the army of Switzerland, under Massena, should drive the Austrians from the country of the Grisons, and attack the Tyrol in front, seizing on the valleys of the Leck and the Inn; also that the army of Italy should penetrate into Germany through

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either the Tyrol or Friuli. A Russian force of 60,000 men, commanded by the celebrated Suwarrof, had arrived at Brunn in Moravia, about the middle of December; and the rulers of the republic ordered their plenipotentiaries at Radstadt to remonstrate against its advance; declaring that the entrance of Russian troops within the limits of the empire would amount to a dissolution of the congress, and destroy all hopes of a solid peace between France and Germany: their march, however, was not discontinued; and the flames of war again burst forth.

In the beginning of March, Jourdan, having crossed the Rhine, advanced toward the Danube; and while Bernadotte blockaded the fortress of Philipsburg, Manheim opened its gates to another body of French troops: on the twentieth, however, the archduke Charles determined to engage his adversary, and the day was contested with great bravery on both sides; Jourdan maintaining his position till night put an end to the conflict, when he retreated to a station near Engen. On the twenty-fifth, a second action was fought on the plain of Lieblingen, in the midst of woods; but night, again separating the combatants, left the victory undecided: next morning the invaders renewed their attack; being, however, still foiled, Jourdan, after sustaining a loss of 4000 men, retreated before his antagonist, and recrossed the Rhine at Lauttemburg and Strasburg; after which Massena was appointed generalissimo of all the French forces from the Alpine frontiers of Italy to Mentz. The troops under his own immediate command had made considerable advances into the country of the Grisons; but after Jourdan's retreat, the force sent from the Austrian army of the Danube rendered the imperialists so strong, that he found it expedient to retire to the left bank of the Rhine: future operations, however, in Switzerland were so much affected by events in Italy, that it is necessary to turn our attention to the affairs of that country.

The French forces there were distributed into two armies, that of Italy and that of Naples; the latter

being not only in possession of the capital and conquered portions of the Neapolitan dominions, but also of Rome, and the different states of the church.

If the directory had sought out a leader to act as a foil to Bonaparte on the theatre of that general's grand exploits, they could not have succeeded better, than when they placed Scherer in command of the army of Italy. Instead of passing the Adige, he manœuvred with vague intentions, was beaten by Kray, and driven back in less than a month to the Oglio and the Adda; where, conscious of incapacity, he delivered up his high command to Moreau: but it was too late even for that able general to retrieve the campaign: Suwarrof had arrived with his Russians, and forced the passage of the Adda, on the twenty-fifth of April: on the twenty-sixth, having surrounded Serrurier's division of 8000 men, he compelled it to surrender; and on the twenty-ninth he entered Milan in triumph, and Moreau was hunted to the shelter of the Alps. On the twenty-seventh of May, Turin, the great dépôt of the French, was taken with 260 pieces of cannon, beside immense stores; and Moreau was finally chased through the Apennines: but the Aulic council was the bane of Russian, as well as Austrian valor: by its order, the archduke was rendered inactive; and Suwarrof, to his great indignation, was directed to disperse his army for the siege of the Italian fortresses: Moreau, taking advantage of this signal act of folly, occupied a post in the Apennines, to await the arrival of Macdonald, who had evacuated Naples and Rome, and was advancing to his assistance. A plan was formed between these two generals, for both to descend into the plain near Piacenza; and, having effected a junction, to fall on the rear of the Austrians, surprise their scattered corps, and destroy them in succession: this junction, however, either from the tardiness of one general or the impetuosity of the other, never took place; and Macdonald, issuing alone from the mountains, roused the first Austrian division with which he came into contact: but Suwarrof, who had divined the intentions of Moreau, made a retrograde movement;

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and Macdonald found himself on the banks of the Trebia, in presence of an overwhelming force of Austrians and Russians. Though retreat would have been prudent, he stood his ground, and gave battle to Suwarrof: the contest was renewed for three successive days; and even night brought no cessation to the carnage; but the French were finally defeated with great slaughter; not a general officer escaping without a wound: nor did they suffer much less in the pursuit that followed. Joubert, in whom the directory hoped to find a rival of Bonaparte, was now commissioned to take the field against Suwarrof: he had just espoused a youthful bride; and his parting promise to her was 'to conquer or perish.' Crossing the Alps with reinforcements, he rallied the remainder of Moreau's and Macdonald's forces; but was still inferior to his antagonist, to whom Mantua and the other principal fortresses of Italy had surrendered: Joubert, however, bent on acting an heroic part, gave battle to the Russian general at Novi: it was fought on the fifteenth of August, with obstinacy, though with little skill, on either side. Suwarrof, superior in forces, attacked his adversary on all sides; and while Joubert advanced in front to encourage his men, a ball pierced his heart: his dying words were a vivid exhortation to the troops; but all was in vain: 10,000 men lay dead on the field of battle, and 4000 were taken prisoners. After this defeat, Moreau resumed the command, and succeeded in bringing off the shattered remnant of the army of Italy.

Defeat of the Russians.

In Switzerland, Massena, behind the Limmat, the lake of Zurich, and the Lint, was held in check by the archduke Charles: but even this great general hesitated to attack so active an opponent without a manifest advantage; and the Aulic council, thinking that the impetuous Russians would act with more vigor ordered Suwarrof to advance into Switzerland, while Korsakof, another Russian general took the archduke's place on the Limmat. Massena instantly saw his advantage in this change; and crossing the Limmat, threw a force of 40,000 men on Korsakof, who had no

more than 25,000 concentrated in Zurich: a desperate engagement took place in the streets and suburbs of that city; and though a large body of Russians forced a passage through the enemy, yet more than one-half of Korsakof's army was taken or slain: Soult also was successful on the Lint; and these actions took place toward the close of September, when Suwarrof was forcing the passage of Mount St. Gothard. He had expected to come on the flank of the French, while they were pressed in front; but when he arrived in the valley, the forces with which he was to have co-operated were repulsed, and there was no alternative but to retreat, in the first instance, through the dreadful defile of the Schachenthal, abandoning his artillery and baggage; while the whole army advanced in single file, dragging the beasts of burden after them. Numbers slipped down the precipices, and perished miserably; others, worn out by fatigue, lay down on the track, to be trodden under foot by the advancing multitude; or fell into the hands of the French general Lecourbe, who pressed them closely: at times, the troops would refuse to proceed; and then Suwarrof would order a trench to be dug, fling himself into it, and desire them to march over his body, and to desert in those solitudes the commander who had so often led them on to victory: after severe losses, the army arrived at the Muten, and hoped to find rest from their toils in its cottages; but the French successes had enabled Massena and Molitor to unite in a general pursuit of Suwarrof's retreating army; the Austrians, on whom he depended, had retired; and he found that he had only reached the Mutenthal to be exposed to destruction by his foes. The enemy's brigades were soon seen on the crests of the mountains: Suwarrof called a council of war, and impetuously proposed an immediate advance to Schwytz, in the rear of the French position; but his officers urged the necessity of marching into the Grisons to rejoin the remaining division of the army; and the veteran general shed tears of indignation when the command was given: the path over the Alps of Glarus was even more

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rugged than that which they had already trod, and which had destroyed all their horses and beasts of burden. Miseries, probably unequalled in the annals of warfare, attended this terrible march, begun in a fall of snow, which, by obliterating the track, augmented all the natural difficulties of the passage: numbers perished under rocks, the only shelter they could find; or fell into precipices and crevices; or were buried in the drifting snow: with inconceivable toil the head of the column on the following morning attained the summit of the ridge; whence an ocean of snow-clad mountains was seen to stretch as far as the eye could reach: the rest slowly followed; and about one-third of the army descended for refuge into the country of the Grisons; where Suwarrof, indignant against the Austrians, by whom he asserted that he had been betrayed, broke his sword in disgust, resigned his command, and vowed never more to serve with the imperialists: nor was it long before the emperor Paul withdrew from the confederacy.

In the Neapolitan realms, events occurred, which no British historian can recount without extreme mortification. Corfu had surrendered to a Russian and Turkish fleet, acting, for the first time, in strange confederacy; and captain Troubridge, having given up the blockade of Alexandria to sir Sidney Smith, was entrusted by Nelson to commence operations against the French in the bay of Naples: meantime, cardinal Ruffo, a man of questionable character, but of a temper suited to the times, landed with a delegated regal authority in Calabria, and raised an army of peasants, priests, and banditti; with which he advanced on Naples, and summoned its castles which commanded the anchorage. As the garrisons were chiefly composed of Neapolitan revolutionists, the principal conditions offered and accepted were,—that their persons, property, and families should be respected; and that each individual should have the choice of embarking in cartels for Toulon; or of remaining without any molestation in Naples. This capitulation was signed by the cardinal; by the Russian and Turkish generals;

and, lastly, by captain Foote, as commander of the British force: but when Nelson, who next day arrived in the bay, saw a flag of truce flying on the fortresses, and on board the Seahorse frigate, he made a signal to annul the treaty, which he chose to call an *infamous armistice*, declaring that he would grant to rebels no terms except those of unconditional submission, whilst he represented the king, and therefore held an authority superior to that of Ruffo: of this however there existed no proof either by commission or previous publication. The cardinal strongly objected to such arbitrary proceedings; nor could any arguments of the admiral, seconded by sir William and lady Hamilton, convince him, that a treaty, thus solemnly concluded, could be honorably set aside: this priest could see, though Nelson could not, that if superior authority refuses to ratify a treaty, both parties ought at least to be replaced in their previous position; and he retired at last silenced, but not convinced; whilst all the hapless wretches in the forts, that were Neapolitan subjects, were delivered over to the vengeance of the court.[17] 'A deplorable transaction,' says Southey; a 'stain on his memory, and on the honor of England! to palliate it would be vain; to justify it would be wicked:' in fact it must be told, though it cannot be told without deep regret, that Naples, at this period, was to Nelson, what Capua was—not to Hannibal—but to his army; a corrupter of his morals and perverter of his judgment. Here he lingered, long after he had repaired his shattered fleet, sacrificing even public duty[18] to Neapolitan intrigues, and his moral

[17] According to Nelson's own apologist, Ruffo had been authorized by the king, not only to command his troops, but to administer the functions of government in his name.—See Append. to Dispatches, vol. iii. p. 499.

[18] Napoleon's invasion of Egypt had changed the scene of war, and rendered that country the true point of attack, on the part of England; and this was Nelson's own opinion to a great extent, yet after he had repaired and refitted his fleet he left the service on that coast to others, remaining at Naples on the request of the king, and continuing there at the repeated solicitations of the queen; to whom—so far did his weakness carry him—he gave a *written promise* not to leave her; a pledge which actually interfered with his official duty; for when lord Keith who had taken the command of our Mediterranean fleet, learned that a junction of the French and Spanish fleets had taken place, he sailed in quest of them, ordering Nelson to send his whole squadron, or at all events a detachment, to the defence of Minorca. This however Nelson refused to do: he would neither quit Naples, nor send a single ship; and for this disobedience he was censured

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sense to the blandishments of a luxurious court. Elated by intense flattery he now began to be puffed up with vanity, and to use the language of unbounded self-praise—to hold every one wrong who differed from him in opinion, from the mere fact of that difference—and to disregard all rights which he did not deem rights—the very vice of jacobins whom he was opposing; the more respectable among whom believed that their opponents were tyrants, and that the guillotine was only doing its duty—a view in which they were supported by no inconsiderable portion of public opinion: but the principle of action, at the bottom, with both parties, was the substitution of *will* prompted by feeling, for definite rules of right; and this feeling may be passion, prejudice, or hatred as well as any worthier impulse: in the excitement of action or pressure of interest, these motives too often have sway: but not to brand them in theory, would be to despise the principles of morality; not to expose their deformity, would be to deprive history of one of her best and highest privileges. Neither must we forget to note, how contagious such examples are; when we find in Nelson's own dispatches sentiments addressed to him by one of his most gallant officers, worthy only of the school of Robespierre. A Neapolitan 'royalist' had killed a 'rebel' as he was flying from destruction, and cut off his head: this he sent, just as it was severed from the body, as an acceptable present to captain Troubridge; and the letter with which the ruffian accompanied his gift was endorsed as that of a '*jolly fellow*' by Troubridge; who also tells the admiral, that he would have transmitted the trophy to him, *but for the heat.* In fact the jacobinical spirit of death strongly pervades this portion of their correspondence; and it is scarcely too much to say, that those

by the admiralty, as well as for employing his seamen at a distance from the fleet. No doubt excuses may be made for him: but Nelson himself admits that he gave up his own plan of proceeding to Egypt at the royal request; leaving that country to the Turks and Russians, that he might recover and preserve Naples for its detestable governors; though it was clear that if Napoleon could have been captured, or his army destroyed, the moral effect on Europe would have produced results far beyond the recovery of Naples.—See Nelson's Dispatches, edited by sir H. Nicholas, vols. iii. and iv.

excellent men might in time have worked themselves up to the establishing of a reign of *terror against terrorists*,[19] had they not been called away to different scenes, where they had opportunities of signalizing their talents and courage in a legitimate manner, and for the benefit of their country.

Capture and exe tion of prince C raccioli.

One of the victims of the proscription which followed the occupation of Naples, was the unfortunate prince Caraccioli, a distinguished commodore, and an old comrade of Nelson in early youth; who had accompanied the court to Sicily, and obtained leave to return to Naples, when its republican government issued an edict to confiscate the property of absentees: in such times, however, it was hardly possible for a man of his reputation to remain inactive; he appeared in command of the republican navy, as the sailors themselves reported, by compulsion; but probably with an inclination to serve his country by the establishment of a better system of government than the iniquitous one of Ferdinand. When the capital surrendered, he fled; but being taken in disguise, was brought on board lord Nelson's flag-ship at nine o'clock in the morning: at ten, the British admiral ordered a court-martial to sit, of which count Thurn, a particular enemy of the prisoner, was president: no witnesses could be examined in his defence, to prove his allegation that he was compelled to serve: at twelve, he was found guilty; and, at five in the afternoon, the same day, was hanged at the yard arm of a Sicilian frigate. The unfortunate prince, having in vain sought a new trial, requested that he might be shot: 'I am an old man,' he said; 'I leave no family behind me, and therefore cannot be supposed very anxious about prolonging my life; but the disgrace of being hanged is dreadful.' This appeal had no effect on Nelson; and, it is said, that as a last resource, Caraccioli endeavored to

[19] 'Send me word,' says Nelson, in one of his own letters, 'that some proper heads are taken off: this alone will comfort me.'—'No covered waggons; no protection to rebels,' &c. Happy would it have been for Nelson if he had followed the excellent lord Keith's advice, who says in one of his letters to him—'Advise those Neapolitans not to be too sanguinary: cowards are always cruel, and apostates the most violent against their former friends.'—Dispatches, vol. iii. p. 419.

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interest lady Hamilton in his behalf; but that on this occasion *she was not to be seen;* although at his execution, *she was present:* such was the attachment of that woman, the bane of Nelson's reputation, to the vile Sicilian court; and such alas! was the attachment of one of the greatest heroes that ever adorned the British annals. 'Naples at this time,' says Mr. Southey,[20] 'exhibited more dreadful scenes than it had witnessed in the days of Massaniello: after the mob had satiated themselves with blood and plunder, the reins were given to justice; if that can be called justice, which annuls its own stipulations; looks to naked facts alone, disregarding all motives and all circumstances; and, without considering character or science, sex or youth, sacrifices its victims, not for the public weal, but for the gratification of greedy vengeance:' this is but too faithful a picture of the greater number of those old governments, for which at this time we were lavishing the nation's blood and treasure: in that of Naples, (and we have it under Nelson's own hand,) the finances were dilapidated, the treasury empty, only two honest men in its service, the nobility and gentry dissatisfied, the courtiers weak, vicious, and treacherous. After the French had evacuated the capital, Troubridge, who acted both by sea and land, proceeded to Capua, which soon fell; while Gaeta surrendered to captain Louis, of the Minotaur; and the republicans were completely driven from the Neapolitan dominions: but the court, instead of re-establishing order and good government, entered into its usual follies and festivities, while the prisons echoed with groans, and the scaffolds streamed with blood: at length, satisfied with amusements and revenge, the royal cortège returned to Palermo; leaving, by the estimate of captain Troubridge, who remained in command at Naples, relatives of more than 40,000 families immured in the prisons of that capital. A remarkable occurrence is said to have taken place

[20] Life of Nelson.

The king of course was a most magnanimous sovereign, and that 'she-wolf' the queen an angel; but even her British defenders at last opened their eyes to her real character and themselves expelled her from the kingdom which she polluted.

during this last voyage: the Foudroyant, in which Ferdinand embarked, had not cleared the bay of Naples, before the body of prince Caraccioli, which, after its execution, had been launched into the deep, became buoyant; and, being probably affected by the motion of the vessel, sprang up before the bows, and was carried for some time by a current in the ship's course: it was nearly half out of water, rising and falling with the swell of the sea, but kept in an upright position by the shot attached to its legs: though the incident was likely enough to excite merriment among some of his passengers, one would scarcely have taken the feelings of Nelson at that moment for all his glory: a boat was sent off, which took the body of the prince out of the waves, and buried it on that shore from which he had been treacherously taken.

Nelson now thought that nothing was more essential to the tranquillity of Naples, than the recovery of Rome; which, as Suwarrof was driving the French out of the northern provinces, would complete the deliverance of Italy: having, however, failed in obtaining military assistance, he determined to make the attempt by a small detachment of his fleet; and this, under the able conduct of captains Troubridge, Hallowell, and Louis, intirely succeeded; for the French, having no longer any hope in arms, and being foiled in the arts of negotiation by the blunt honesty of our naval officers, concluded a capitulation for all the Roman states; when captain Louis, rowing up the Tiber in his barge, hoisted the British standard on the Capitol, and was installed provisional governor of Rome.

Expedition to Holland.

While the arms of France were thus occupied in Germany and Italy, a favorable opportunity seemed to offer itself for liberating Holland from a galling servitude: accordingly, a treaty was effected with the emperor Paul, by which 17,000 Russians were received into our pay, to form a joint expedition with 20,000 British forces. Early in August, troops were collected on the Kentish coast; and on the thirteenth of that month, sir Ralph Abercrombie, their commander, set

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sail from Deal in a co-operating squadron under the orders of admiral Mitchell. After encountering much bad weather, the fleet came to anchor off the Helder, a point which commands the entrance of the Zuyder Zee; and the men were disembarked on the twenty-seventh. Having repulsed a body of 7000 French and Dutch, they prepared for an attack on the Helder fort next morning: but it was abandoned in the night; and the Dutch fleet in the Texel surrendered to the British admiral without firing a shot.

The great difficulty in this expedition, when the two powers were so widely separated from each other, was to make a combined attack; but the British ministry scarcely seemed to catch at the probability of compassing it; for although sir R. Abercrombie left the Downs in the beginning of August, sir Home Popham had not set sail for Revel, to receive our Russian auxiliaries on board his ships, before the middle of July; and by an error still more extraordinary, the first division only sailed under Abercrombie, while the rest of the army remained in England with the duke of York, who had been appointed commander in chief, until news of the first disembarkation should arrive. Before the invaders received reinforcements, they were attacked by about 12,000 men, on the tenth of September; but so strong was the post of the Zuyp, and so bravely was it defended, that above 800 of the assailants were killed or wounded; while not more than 200 suffered on the side of the British: after this repulse, general Brune, the French commander in chief, took up a defensive position at Alkmaer; and on the thirteenth, the duke of York, landing with three brigades, superseded the brave and experienced Abercrombie in the supreme command of the army! As the allied troops now amounted to 35,000 men, his royal highness ventured on active operations; and the army advanced on the nineteenth, in four columns: that on the extreme right, consisting chiefly of Russian troops under general de Hermann, made an impetuous but premature attack; pushing forward to Bergen, where the principal force of the enemy lay, and was

dreadfully cut up: Abercrombie's column penetrated to the city of Hoorn, whose garrison surrendered; and the two other columns, under general Dundas and sir James Pulteney, were also successful in forcing their way through great difficulties, in a track of country intersected by deep ditches and canals; but the rash confidence of the Russians exposed the whole army to such danger, that its retreat soon became necessary; and the troops retired to their former position.[1] For some time rainy and tempestuous weather prevented military operations, and the anomaly of an invading force blocked up by inferior numbers was presented; but on the second of October, our army resumed the offensive, and commenced an attack on the enemy's whole line. The battle of Egmont, though indecisive, was favorable to the British: evening put an end to the engagement; and the troops rested on their arms: at daybreak, however, the retreat of the enemy gave their opponents an opportunity of occupying several strong positions at Egmont-op-Hoof, Egmont-op-Zee, the Lange Dyke, Alkmaer, and Bergen; but they were precluded by fatigue from effectually harassing the republican soldiers, who took up a new and strong post between Beverwyck and the Zuyder Zee, almost at the extremity of North Holland: there the duke of York resolved to attack them, before their position could be strengthened by the erection of new works, and by the arrival of expected reinforcements. The Russians had a greater share in this action, which took place on the sixth of October, than in that preceding it; and they were so vigorously resisted, that sir Ralph Abercrombie was obliged to advance with a strong corps to their relief: the whole hostile force then put itself in motion; and the contest, which became general along the line, from Limmen to the sea, terminated so far in favor of the invaders, that they were left masters of the field: but the loss on both sides was very severe; and the enemy, who soon afterwards received a reinforcement of 6000 troops,

[1] The Russians had advanced two hours before, or the English after, the proper time; from a misunderstanding, with which the allied commanders reproached each other.

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maintained their position between Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee.

Retreat of the allied army.

The allied army now found itself placed in so critical a situation, as to require the highest military talents, united with mature experience, to conduct its future operations: directly opposite lay the enemy, in a position almost impregnable, and rendered confident by the accession of strength just received; while a barren and exhausted country, scarcely affording shelter for the wounded, was extended all around: the right wing of the allies was indeed protected by the ocean; but the left was threatened by a large corps, occupying an almost inaccessible position: the weather too, since the sixth, had set in with increasing severity, and the urgent necessities of our troops were supplied with extreme difficulty: beside these complicated evils, the soldiers lay wholly exposed on the unsheltered sand-hills of North Holland; while the party of the stadtholder remained inactive, and apparently indifferent to their success. Under such circumstances, the duke of York, in the evening of the seventh, the night being extremely dark, and the rain descending in torrents, issued an unexpected order for the army to assemble; and at ten o'clock, the whole was in full retreat toward Pellen and Alkmaer: as they could not, however, be embarked in the presence of a superior force without a heavy loss, the British commanders concluded an armistice with general Brune; in which it was stipulated that the combined English and Russian troops should evacuate the Batavian republic by the thirtieth of November; that the mounted batteries at the Helder should be restored in their present state; that 8000 French and Batavian prisoners of war in England, taken before the present campaign, should be restored to their respective countries; and that major-general Knox should remain behind, to guarantee the execution of this convention: but a proposition of restoring the Batavian fleet, which had been surrendered by admiral Story, was rejected with indignation; and the duke threatened, in case general Brune persevered in this demand, to cut the sea-dikes, and inundate the whole country. Nearly 4000 Dutch deserters were brought

off to England with the British troops, who were embarked without delay; and the Russians were landed and quartered in Guernsey and Jersey.

Mutiny at Bantry Bay.

Early this year, the admiralty determined to limit the period of command in frigates; in consequence of which regulation, sir Edward Pellew left the western squadron, which he had conducted with so much glory to himself and advantage to the country: his services were now transferred to the Impetueux, one of the finest ships of her class in the line, but whose crew was known to be in a very disaffected state. Supposing that, on this account, they had been placed under a commander whose good discipline was celebrated, and whose ship was almost the only one on the home station which had not mutinied, they resolved not to be controlled: this feeling might have worn itself out, if the vessel had remained at sea; for the men soon learned to respect their new commander: but on the twenty-fifth of April, the French fleet escaped from Brest, and proceeded to the Mediterranean; when lord Bridport, supposing it to have gone to Ireland, cruised for a few days off Cape Clear, and then anchored with twenty-six sail of the line in Bantry Bay: there the bad spirits had leisure for mischief, and facility of communication with each other; in consequence of which a general mutiny was planned, and the disgrace of setting the example was assigned to the Impetueux: it burst out about noon on the thirtieth of May; but by the energetic conduct of sir Edward Pellew, and the steadiness of his marines, it was almost instantly quelled, and the principal ringleaders were secured: the whole plot also became intirely disconcerted; for the crews of the other ships, who knew nothing of the attempt, and its failure, waited for a signal from the Impetueux, and followed her when she obeyed that of the admiral. On the first of June, lord Bridport, who had now learned the course steered by the French fleet, sent off sir Alan Gardner, with sixteen sail, to reinforce earl St. Vincent in the Mediterranean; and no other attempt was

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made by the crews to resist the authority of their officers.[2]

Capture of Surinam

The florishing settlement of Surinam was wrested from the Dutch by a body of troops, under lieutenant-general Trigge, embarked on board two line-of-battle ships and five frigates, commanded by lord Hugh Seymour: the articles of capitulation gave full security to the persons and property of the inhabitants, but resigned all public stores to his Britannic majesty: it was also provided, in case the island should remain with Great Britain at the conclusion of peace, that it should enjoy the privileges of our other West Indian colonies. The British navy, during the whole of this year, lost not a single ship of war; while twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers, belonging to France, and ten to Spain, were either taken or driven on shore. The Dutch navy might be said to have been annihilated; and as the sailors were obviously dis-

[2] At this time the reasons for mutiny began to disappear; for it is universally confessed, that no part of our system needed reformation more than that relating to the navy: to be convinced of this, let the reader peruse the following extract from the Memoirs of Lord Exmouth:—'Mutinies were the natural fruit of the system which had prevailed in the navy; and it is only wonderful that obedience had been preserved so long: every thing was supplied by contract; and the check on the contractor being generally very inadequate, gross abuses prevailed. Officers, who recollect the state of the navy during the first American war, could furnish a history which would now appear incredible: the provisions were sometimes unfit for human food: casks of meat, after having been long on board, would be found actually offensive: the biscuit, from its inferior quality and a bad system of stowage, was devoured by insects, until it would fall to pieces at the slightest blow; and the provisions of a more perishable nature, as cheese, butter, raisins, &c. would be in a still worse condition. Among crews thus fed, the scurvy made dreadful ravages: the Princessa, one of Rodney's ships, sent 200 men to the hospital at one time: the purser, instead of pay, received certain authorised perquisites; and one-eighth of the seaman's allowance was his right: prize-money melted away, as it passed through the courts and offices: not even public charities could escape; the noble establishment of Greenwich was disgraced by superannuated servants and other landsmen being placed in it as worn-out sailors; and the superior appointments being conferred on political friends, instead of deserving naval officers: the well-known case of captain Baillie, who was removed and prosecuted for resisting some of these abuses, is a memorable illustration. The worst, indeed, had been corrected long before 1797: still so much remained, that the demands of the seamen, when they mutinied at Spithead, were not less due to themselves, than desirable for the general interests of the service: a moderate increase in their pay and Greenwich pensions; provisions of a better quality; the substitution of traders' for pursers' weight and measure; and an allowance of vegetables instead of flour, with their fresh meat, when in port, were their chief claims: they did not resort to violent measures, till petitions had been tried in vain: they urged their demands firmly, but most respectfully; and they always declared their resolution to suspend the prosecution of them, if the enemy should be at sea.'—pp. 180, 181.

affected to the new government, all maritime exertions in that quarter were discontinued.

1799. Campaign in Egypt.

We left Bonaparte in Egypt, which country he had brought under subjection to the French arms: but as it could not be supposed that the Porte would leave him in quiet possession of his conquest, or that England would make no effort to wrest it from him, he determined to begin the attack before the Turks could receive assistance from other quarters: accordingly, preparations were made for an expedition against Acre, the train of artillery being sent by sea; while the army, in four divisions, under Kleber, Bon, Regnier, and Lannes, marched to El Arisch, and an action was fought, in which the French were successful. They next proceeded to Jaffa, which was carried by assault after a vigorous resistance; and the troops encamped before Acre, where the trenches were opened on the thirtieth of March: this city, however, contained within its walls two men, who to the romantic heroism of the days of chivalry added all the knowlege appertaining to modern warfare; sir Sidney Smith, and colonel Philipeaux; the latter an emigrant officer of engineers, who, having contributed to rescue his friend from bondage in the Temple at Paris, had accompanied him on board the squadron which he commanded in the Levant: with the aid of these brave and experienced officers, Djezzar Pacha, governor of the city, defied all the attempts of Bonaparte; and although the amiable Philipeaux died long before the termination of the siege, from a fever brought on by unceasing exertions and want of rest, yet the gallant sir Sidney, by mooring his ships, the Tigre and Theseus, so as to flank the ditches and trenches, and, by landing portions of their crews, to defend the walls, enabled the Turks to defeat every attack, and to dissipate all Bonaparte's schemes of oriental empire. Standing on the mount of Richard Cœur de Lion, and surveying his preparations for the final assault, Napoleon observed to Bourrienne, his military secretary,—'This miserable place has indeed cost me dear; but I must make a last effort: if I succeed, I shall find in

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the city the pasha's treasures, and arms for 300,000 men: I will then stir up the people of Syria, who are disgusted with the ferocity of Djezzar; I will march on Damascus and Aleppo; and having announced to the people every where the abolition of servitude and the tyrannical government of the pashas, I shall arrive at Constantinople with large masses of soldiery; and having overturned the Turkish power, shall found in the East a new and grand empire: perhaps I shall return to Paris by Adrianople, or by Vienna, after having annihilated the house of Austria.'[3] But after sixty days of slaughter and of shame before the apparently contemptible fortress of Acre, this proud conqueror was obliged to return into Egypt; and, instead of making his grand circuit through Asia and Europe, over fields of battle and subverted thrones; he slunk away from his deserted army, and set sail for the shores of France in one of those frigates, which Nelson, for want of proper means, was unable to destroy.

Bonaparte, however, had a still higher game to play: he well knew, that in times of disorder, when all powers are confounded, and an equilibrium cannot be established, he who is cleverest and boldest may easily oppress the rest.

Establishment of the consular government in France.

The French directory was now rapidly verging toward dissolution: the defeats in Germany and the loss of Italy had generally exasperated the nation; the provinces were in a dreadful state of insubordination; the jacobins were beginning to meet again in clubs; and the moderates, who dreaded the terrorists, as they despised the directory, received Napoleon with every demonstration of favor: the directory praised and chided, but showed great fear of him. The intriguing Sieyes, secretly gratified with the popularity enjoyed by Bonaparte, now disclosed to him certain projects, and solicited his powerful aid to carry them into execution. At five in the morning of the eighteenth Brumaire, (November the ninth,) by a manœuvre of the confederates in the council of ancients, a proposal, made without any communication

[3] Memoirs, vol. i. p. 208.

with the directors, was carried by a large majority,— that the assembly should adjourn to St. Cloud; and that general Bonaparte should be charged to put the decree into execution, being appointed supreme commander of all the forces: the sitting was then dissolved; and the general instantly issued two proclamations, announcing his command, and inviting the army and national guard to support him in his endeavors to restore liberty, victory, and peace to their country: he then marched 10,000 troops to the Tuilleries, and guarded every avenue to that place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass. Three of the directors, and all the citizens of Paris, first became acquainted with these proceedings by proclamations with which the walls of the capital were placarded: Barras, who at first refused to resign, was sent to his country seat, under a guard of cavalry, with a promise not only of oblivion for the past, but of wealth and indemnity for the future; while Gohier and Moulins remained guarded by Moreau at the Luxemburg. Bonaparte then made his appearance in the council of the ancients; and attempting to speak of plots and disclosures, became so incoherent and inconsequential, that his friends, seeing him in a false position, induced him to retire to the troops outside, by whom he was received with vivid acclamations: in the mean time, the council of five hundred had assembled, filled with astonishment and distrust; and although the general's brother, Lucien, was at this time its president, an uproar was excited by the entrance of Napoleon, in which even his life was endangered, until the grenadiers entered the hall to the rescue of their chief: the members instantly decreed that the council of ancients had no power to invest Bonaparte with the command; and his outlawry was even proposed; but the president, refusing to pronounce such a decree against his brother, quitted the chair: the most vehement threats were then employed for the purpose of compelling him to resume his office; but he remained inflexible, until Murat arrived with a military force for his protection: the chamber was then cleared at the point of the

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bayonet: and cries of 'Long live the republic!' 'Long live Bonaparte!' sent forth by the soldiers, announced the event, and the means by which it was accomplished. The first imperfect intelligence of this usurpation had filled the capital with apprehension; but no sooner were the circumstances attending it made known, than the Parisians expressed unfeigned joy at the final subversion of jacobin power.

A provisional government was now appointed, consisting of three consuls, Sieyes, Ducos, and Napoleon; who, being invested with directorial authority, entered on their public functions at the palace of the Luxemburg; while the legislative commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. In forming the new administration, Lucien Bonaparte was appointed to the ministry of the interior; Talleyrand being reinstated in that of foreign affairs, and Fouché set over the police: a new constitution, however, was soon afterwards adopted: three consuls, one of whom bore the title of chief, formed the executive power; a conservative senate was appointed, consisting of eighty members, with a legislative body of 300, and a tribunate of 100; while the popular sovereignty was abolished, by the abrogation of the municipal governments, and the institution of prefects in the various departments. Bonaparte was nominated First Consul for a term of ten years, the two subordinate consuls being Cambacères and Le Brun: the establishment of a council of state took place on the twenty-fourth of December. The whole result was, undoubtedly, a blessing to France: 'Whoever denies this,' says Bourrienne, 'can have no idea of the wretched state of every branch in the administration at that deplorable epoch.' In fact, according to Napoleon's own expression, 'the pear was ripe' when he thought fit to pluck it.

Parliamentary measures.

The situation of affairs on the continent, and the part taken by the British government in the coalition, caused a short meeting of parliament in the month of September: its object was to extend the voluntary service of the militia, while our regular troops were

engaged in the expedition to Holland; and also to vote some pecuniary supplies, on account of unforeseen expenses. The projected militia bill, which permitted three-fifths of that body to enlist into the regulars, at a bounty of ten guineas a man, to serve in Europe only, while it gave rank to the officers equal to that which they before held, was strongly opposed, as tending to diminish a constitutional force, and to augment a standing army, dependent on the crown. Pitt's opponents asserted that his uniform system of policy had been to extend the influence of that branch of the constitution beyond its salutary limits; to effect which, his custom was to propose some special or temporary evil to be removed, or some advantage to be obtained, from the restriction of popular privileges and the enlargement of monarchical power: the pretext for suspending the habeas corpus act was the existence of a conspiracy, which, if it did exist, might easily have been crushed by the laws of the land; that for extending the laws of treason, and repressing popular assemblies, was the existence of seditious meetings; but though the pretended causes were extinct, the coercive laws remained: and thus the ostensible reason for allowing the militia men to become soldiers, was to assist our operations abroad; but the real intention was to augment at once the standing army and ministerial patronage: these objections, though vehemently urged, were deemed futile by the house, and the bill passed by a large majority. The supplies granted at present were between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000, including £2,500,000, to be raised by exchequer bills: measures having also been carried for granting relief to West India merchants, and for supporting commercial credit, parliament again separated on the twelfth of October.

State of the continent.

In Great Britain, the energy of 1798 had continued unabated through the greater part of the present year: the victory of the Nile, reanimating the powers of Europe, had encouraged them in hostilities, which during the early part of the campaign had been attended with signal success, which was chiefly im-

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puted to the spirit and contributions of this country: the retreat of Napoleon from a fortress which a few British sailors undertook to defend, being his first discomfiture in any military attempt, added greatly to the national exultation; while the advance of the Russians, and the formidable armament prepared against the Batavian republic, gave hopes, that the United Provinces might not only be delivered from the French yoke, but contribute to the recovery of the Austrian Netherlands: the failure of this expedition was a gloomy disappointment, and severe censure was heard, before an investigation of facts could ascertain its demerits. Accounts also arrived at the conclusion of the year, respecting the Russian disasters in Switzerland, of which country the French had again become masters: general Muller also had penetrated into Germany; and, seizing on Frankfort, Manheim, and Heidelburg, threatened to lay all that portion of the empire under contribution; and though Austria had, by the co-operation of her northern ally, obtained great advantages in Italy; yet it appeared but too evident, that a desire of regaining her ancient possessions in that kingdom overbalanced her anxiety for the general welfare: thus the people began again to clamor for peace, conceiving that no good purpose could be answered by a continuance of the war.

Negotiations for peace.

In this state of the public mind, Napoleon addressed a letter from the ancient palace of the Bourbons, on Christmas-day, to the king of Great Britain, indicating a desire of peace, and appealing to his majesty in the following terms:—'How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness, the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first importance, as well as the first glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reign over a free people, and with the sole view of rendering them happy. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for the misfortune

of all nations, long retard the period of their exhaustion; but I will venture to say, that the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.'

To this letter, an answer was returned by lord Grenville, copious in detail, but by no means conciliatory: its purport was, that the French government afforded no ground for trust: the king, however, did not prescribe to France the disposition of her executive authority; and as soon as he saw that peace could be made with security, he would most readily concert with his allies the means of pacification; but as, in the present state of France, he could not hope for the stability of any treaty, he with other powers must persist in a just and defensive war. The first consul made another attempt at negotiation; and Talleyrand, in a letter to the British secretary, vindicated the conduct of France from the censures contained in his lordship's note; throwing the blame of war on the league of European powers for the destruction of his country; and proposing a suspension of arms, in order that plenipotentiaries might meet at Dunkirk, or any other convenient place. In the answer sent by lord Grenville on the twentieth of January, the king expressed his concern, that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole origin of the war, were systematically defended by her present ruler: he refused to enter into a refutation of allegations universally exploded, and, as regarded his own conduct, utterly groundless: finally, the French minister was referred to the first note of the British government for his majesty's opinion of the present overtures.

CHAPTER XLIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1800.

Late correspondence of the French and English governments discussed in parliament—Message from the king relating to the ensuing campaign, supplies, &c.—Inquiry into the failure of the late expedition refused—Great scarcity of corn—Measures adopted in consequence of it—Lord Auckland's bill to prevent adultery—Affairs of the East India company—Completion of the union with Ireland—Votes of supplies for the whole year—Fresh subsidy to the emperor of Germany—The king's life attempted by Hadfield—Insanity bill—Parliament rises—Affairs of the continent—Massena in Italy—Surrender of Genoa—Bonaparte's preparations—Moreau in Germany—Napoleon passes the Alps—His operations in Italy—Battle of Marengo—Truce with the Austrians—Consequences of the campaign—Moreau's advance into Germany—Armistice—Preliminary treaty, broken off—Armistice expires, and the contest is renewed—Battle of Hohenlinden—Treaty of Luneville, &c.—Naval operations of Great Britain—Expedition under sir Ralph Abercrombie and lord Keith—Fails at Cadiz—A part proceeds to land troops at Minorca; the other proceeds to Malta—Reduction of that island, with the capture of Le Généreux, Guillaume Tell, &c.—Events in Egypt after Napoleon's departure—State of affairs in Europe—Emperor Paul's hostility towards England—Re-establishes the northern confederacy against our maritime laws—Scarcity of bread continues in England—Riots, &c.—Negotiations for peace—Parliament assembles—Measures taken, &c.—Parliament prorogued.

Parliamentary discussions.

THE first subject of importance which engaged the attention of parliament after its adjournment, was the correspondence that had recently taken place between the British and French governments: the minority animadverted on the precipitate haste with which the door was closed against all hopes of pacification; while ministers asked what advantages could result from a negotiation with France at the present moment;

and whether the consular government offered a better guarantee for peace than any of those which preceded it? Their decision was approved by large majorities, and it was determined to prosecute the war to as great an extent as possible.

Messages to both houses from the king stated, that his majesty was at present employed in concerting such engagements with the emperor, the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Wurtemburg, and other powers of the empire, as might promote the common cause during next campaign: certain advances, however, would be necessary, if the treaties were concluded; and he recommended provision to be made for such eventual engagements. The arguments against this demand were, the inefficacy of all former subsidies in the present war, and the distressed state of the country, arising from the enormous weight of taxation and the unprecedented price of the necessaries of life: it was also inferred, that ministers were well assured of the secession of Russia from the coalition: a parliamentary majority, however, overruled all objections, and the required subsidies were voted. For two months, 120,000 seamen and 90,000 soldiers were granted, exclusive of subsidiaries; but for the rest of the year, 10,000 were deducted from each number: the income tax was continued; and there was a loan of £21,000,000, including a vote of credit. Amidst arrangements for the ensuing campaign, opposition members proposed inquiry into the past: an army of 40,000 men had been employed in Holland; had fought valiantly, but without effecting any good purpose; and had evacuated that country on the most humiliating conditions: did the miscarriage arise from weakness of plan, or defective execution, or resistless bad fortune? and how was this question to be ascertained without investigation? Ministers, however, asserted that inquiry was unnecessary, since the expedition could not be said to have failed; for, beside the acquisition of a large fleet, our army had effected a powerful diversion, and thence contributed to the signal successes of our allies: their opponents replied,

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that a capitulation to an inferior force ought to be investigated, both for the honor and interest of the nation; but the motion was rejected by a great majority.

Alarming scarcity.

While parliament manifested its liberality toward our allies, the poor of this nation suffered severely from the difficulty of procuring bread; since an unproductive harvest had greatly advanced the price of corn. Mr. Pitt, on sound principles of political economy, abstained from all interference with the corn market: the speculations of individuals, he conceived, were more likely to produce an adequate supply of foreign wheat than any parliamentary measure; the legislature therefore confined its attention to contriving substitutes for bread, and diminishing its consumption. Committees, appointed by both houses, made reports, in which they called the attention of all to the duty of reducing the consumption of wheaten flour in their families, and of encouraging economy in that article within their districts: they also recommended that charitable and parochial relief should be distributed in soup, rice, potatoes, or other such substitutes; at their instance also a bill was passed, prohibiting the sale of bread which had not been baked twenty-four hours. In considering the causes of scarcity, opposition ascribed them chiefly to the war: various incidental debates took place on the subject; in the course of which, Mr. Pitt, from a detailed view of prices during the whole contest, argued, that if this scarcity had arisen from war, the increase of price would have been progressive; whereas, the prices in 1796, and the two following years, had been as low as during peace; and the rise had not taken place till 1799; being obviously due to an unproductive harvest: something might, perhaps, have been attributed to the operation of the income tax, which compelled the farmer to raise the price of his corn; as also to the depreciation of the currency, which naturally raised the prices of all articles, while the wages of the poor were not proportionally increased. Not only the necessaries of life, but public morals also occupied the attention of par-

liament: the crime of adultery had become very prevalent; and it was thought by many political moralists, that intermarriage, permitted to the offending parties after a divorce, was one fertile source of crime: to remove that incentive, lord Auckland proposed a bill in the house of peers, to prohibit such intermarriage, according to the law of Scotland; arguing, that the hopes of a permanent connexion facilitated the temporary success of a seducer. The opponents of the bill, among the most strenuous of whom was the duke of Clarence, took a different view of the subject; thinking that the prohibition would not act as a discouragement of the vice; but, like other obstacles, might rather inflame the passions: heinous and hurtful to society as the crime itself was, still the seduced person might not be utterly profligate and abandoned; next to the preservation of virtue in the moral code, was recovery from vice before it became habitual and inveterate; but the present bill, if it became a law, would drive females to desperate licentiousness. The law lords, and the bishops in general, supported lord Auckland's proposition, which was devised with good intentions, and framed with great ability; but as it was doubted whether the prospect of restriction would be a preventive, it was rejected by a considerable majority.

Among other parliamentary topics, the affairs of the East India company were repeatedly discussed. Mr. Dundas, having investigated the state of its finances, detailed them to the commons: he calculated the revenues of the three presidencies, for the year ending at Lady-day, 1798, at £8,000,000, and the charges at less than £7,500,000. Allowing for the interest of debts, he stated the deficiency of territorial revenue at £194,000; and, deducting that sum from the receipts in India on the sale of imported goods, he mentioned £388,000 as the whole sum applicable to commercial purposes; though the advances for this object amounted to £2,500,000: in the succeeding year, the financial view was rather more favorable. In those two years, he said, the debts had increased so as to

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approach £9,000,000; and the assets in India had decreased, while those at home had received a great augmentation: the sales of the latter year were productive in an unprecedented degree; amounting, together with the private trade, to £10,315,000: on the whole, the company's affairs appeared to be in a florishing condition. By an act now passed, a high court of judicature was instituted to supersede that of the recorder at Madras.

Union with Ireland completed.

But the most important act of this year was the completion of the legislative union with Ireland. On the fifteenth of January, the Irish parliament assembled; and on the fifth of February, a message from the lord-lieutenant expressed his majesty's wish, that they should take into attentive consideration the resolutions passed by the parliament of Great Britain, respecting a union between the two legislatures; with his hopes, that so important an object might be matured and completed, through the wisdom of the parliament of each country, as well as the loyal concurrence of the people. The Irish secretary, lord Castlereagh, who had the whole management of this business, entered into a comprehensive view of the measure proposed; recommending it by arguments, similar to those used by its advocates in the British senate. When the first resolution was moved, it was soon discovered which party had applied their time to most advantage; for after a vehement debate, the numbers in favor of the measure were 158, and against it 115: many petitions were now presented to the house, generally against the union, though a few were in its favor; especially one from the town of Galway, which was remarkable for the strong arguments it contained: the tumults of the populace were, on this occasion, very alarming; and military interference was found necessary to preserve the advocates of the union from personal violence. In the house of peers, the earl of Clare, late lord Fitzgibbon, when he moved the first resolution, asserted his conviction, from an attentive observation of Irish affairs for the last twenty years, that the existence of her independent parliament

had gradually brought on the country those bitter calamities which had recently afflicted it; and he avowed that he had, during the preceding seven years, frequently pressed on ministers the urgent necessity of a union. Lords Dillon, Powerscourt, Farnham, and Bellamont expressed strong disapprobation of the measure; which was defended by the law lords, Carleton and Kilwarden, as well as by several other peers; and when the question was put, it was carried by seventy-five against twenty-six votes. The succeeding resolutions passed in a few weeks through that house with equal or greater facility: but in the course of the debates, three different protests, drawn up with vigor and ability were entered on the journals, by the duke of Leinster, the marquis of Downshire, lords Percy and Moira, the bishop of Down, and about twenty other peers: these expressed strong indignation at a measure, which degraded Ireland from her dignity, by depriving her of an independent legislature, acquired after so many noble struggles, and of a local parliament, which was best acquainted with the habits and interests of her people; a measure which would make Irish members in the imperial parliament ready tools of administration, like the Scotch; and which, by increasing absentees, would tend to drain the country of its wealth.

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On the seventeenth of February, when the house of commons was in a general committee, Corry, chancellor of the exchequer, made an able speech in vindication of the bill; blended, however, with virulent party-feelings and personal reflections: the reply of Henry Grattan, who had opposed the measure throughout with all his powers of eloquence, was so pointed and severe, that the chancellor thought proper to resent it by a challenge; and a duel ensued, in which five shots were exchanged, and the challenger was wounded. On the twenty-seventh of March, the whole business being completed, lord Castlereagh moved an address to his majesty from the commons, declaring their approbation of the resolutions transmitted to them, as wisely calculated to form the basis of a com-

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plete union between the two legislatures; that by these propositions they had been guided; and that the resolutions now offered contained articles, which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever. This address, being carried in both houses, was immediately transmitted to England by lord Cornwallis; and, on the second of April, it was made the subject of a message from his majesty to the British parliament: the measure was opposed, in the upper house, by lord Holland; but, when a division took place, only the earl of Derby, with the lords Holland and King, voted against the motion, while eighty-two supported it. In the commons, Mr. Pitt discussed the method of carrying the plan into effect: as to the propriety of allowing 100 Irish members to sit in the imperial parliament, though the particular number might not be of primary importance, he thought it fairly proportioned to the contributions made by each country to the public exigences; and the selection was rather calculated to favor popular interests: the members for counties and principal cities would be sixty-eight; the remainder would be deputed by the towns most considerable in wealth and population; and thus provision would be made for the security of the landed interest, and for the convenience of local information: besides, as the proposed addition would make no change in the internal form of British representation, it would not expose us to dangers from political experiments, under the specious name of reform; experiments, which, whatever his opinions respecting reform might once have been, he was convinced would be hazardous under present circumstances: as it might appear desirable that very few of the members sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number, intitled to be placemen, should be limited to twenty; and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point as circumstances might suggest. The number of peers to represent the whole body of Irish nobility was fixed at thirty-two: four

would suffice to inform parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would be a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and the number of Irish commoners: the election of temporal peers for life he recommended, as more conformable to the spirit of the nobility than that which was settled at the Scottish union; the right reserved for Irish peers to sit in the house of commons as representatives for Great Britain, would render them fitter to serve their country when called to a higher assembly: the permission to create new peers for Ireland he also justified; for, although the Scotch peerage might long maintain itself without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the patents; that of Ireland was in danger of a rapid diminution, by reason of the very limited nature of the successions. In the article respecting the church, he noticed a clause introduced by the Irish parliament, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be held in this island, and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of Roman catholic claims. The next article, he observed, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular prejudices: almost all prohibitions would be repealed; and only protecting duties, to a small amount, imposed on some few articles.

Mr. Grey strenuously opposed the whole plan of the union: his principal objections were founded on its unpopularity among the Irish people; on the means of corruption and intimidation which had been used to accomplish the measure; and on the great dissimilarity between the case of Ireland and that of Scotland, with respect to incorporation with England: he concluded by moving that the number of Irish placemen, who should sit in the united parliament, be limited to nineteen instead of twenty, which was negatived without a division. Early in May, the remaining articles having been severally investigated and approved by decisive majorities, Mr. Pitt moved an

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address to his majesty, informing him that the house had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union; which, they had the satisfaction to state, was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his majesty's message: this was carried without a division; and, the assent of the peers being obtained without any material alteration, a joint address was presented to the throne; after which, a bill, grounded on the resolutions, to take effect from the first of January, 1801, passed through both houses: on the second of July, it received the royal assent; and when the session terminated, his majesty expressed peculiar satisfaction in congratulating parliament on the success of the steps taken for effecting an intire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; declaring that he should ever consider this as the happiest event of his reign. The Irish session, which had been prolonged till the bill passed in England, for the purpose of ratifying the several alterations and additions made by the British legislature, was dissolved on the second of August, and with it the existence of the Irish parliament: 'the union itself,' says Dr. Miller,[8] 'may be regarded as a proof that this body had reached the natural limit of its duration: if such a measure were honestly adopted, the parliament must have become conscious of its own insufficiency; and if it were purchased by corruption, that parliament must have been unworthy to exist.'

Reflections on the union with Ireland.

'The whole history of Ireland, up to the union,' as the same excellent writer observes, 'presents a series of events most curiously combined. Its earlier period, unhappy as it was, prepared that party of Roman catholics, which, in the struggles terminated by the English revolution, was opposed, as an antagonist force, to the Scottish presbyterians; and thus assisted in effecting the adjustment of the English government: when this important function had been discharged, Ireland had to prepare itself for entering with advantage into the general incorporation of the united

[8] Modern History philosophically considered, vol. iv. p. 504.

empire; the preceding period of its history, however beneficial in assisting to adjust the balance of the English constitution, having been inauspicious to the domestic interests of the country. Of that preparation, it was a necessary condition, that one of the two parties, by which it was distracted, should suffer a temporary depression so intire, that the other should not be embarrassed or obstructed in its efforts to obtain national independence: the prosperity, however, thus acquired, extended its influence even to the party by whose depression it had been obtained; and the Roman catholics, participating in the advantages of protestants, rose again to a political importance, in which they were opposed to the ascendency of the prevailing party; a short struggle of rebellion, the natural result of an ungoverned desire of independence among a portion of the protestants, aided by the ancient disaffection of the adverse party, brought the country into a situation, in which the minister was able to consolidate the empire by the union of Ireland.'[9]

So zealous was the British house of commons to promote the measures of administration, that the intire votes of the year amounted to £48,000,000; and a fresh subsidy of £2,000,000 was cheerfully granted, to encourage the emperor of Germany in his warlike views. On the fifteenth of May, two circumstances occurred regarding the king, which deeply interested the feelings of the whole nation: the first took place in the morning, while he was reviewing the grenadier guards in Hyde-park; when, during the firing, a ball struck and severely wounded a gentleman named Ongley, attached to the navy-pay office, who was standing within a few yards of his majesty:[10] the second in the evening, when he visited Drury-lane theatre, accompanied by the queen and four of the princesses. As the sovereign entered the royal box, and advanced, with his usual condescension, to salute the audience, a

Attempts on his majesty's life.

[9] Vol. iv. p. 506.

[10] The cartouch-boxes of the battalion were immediately searched; but no other ball-cartridge being found, the accident was supposed to have arisen from neglect in some one of the soldiers.

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pistol was discharged at him by a person who sat in the second row from the orchestra; but a gentleman, named Holroyd, having fortunately observed the man's action, suddenly raised his arm so as to direct the contents of the weapon toward the roof of the box: the king showed an admirable presence of mind on this occasion in calming the apprehensions of his family; and, far from betraying any symptom of fear, resolved to remain till the play was over; while the audience testified the most rapturous applause, when, recovering from the agony of suspense, they were assured of their beloved monarch's safety: the assassin, being seized on the spot, and conveyed to the music-room, was examined by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, Mr. Sheridan, and others; when it was satisfactorily discovered, both then, and at his subsequent trial, that the person who had thus attempted his sovereign's life was of deranged intellects: his name was Hadfield, and he had served under the duke of York in Flanders, where he received many severe wounds in the head: though acquitted of the crime of treason, he was committed to safe custody during the remainder of his life.

In consequence of this and other acts directed against the person of his majesty, two additional clauses were added to the insanity bill: the first was to prevent any individual confined for alleged lunacy, from being bailed, without the concurrence of one of the magistrates who committed him, except by the judges, or at the quarter sessions; the second provided more especially for the personal safety of the sovereign: these provisions were the last important acts of the session of parliament, which was prorogued on the twenty-ninth of July.

A remarkable campaign distinguished the year which terminated the eighteenth century. The emperor Paul, who was easily led away by impulses of passion, being enraged at the unexpected disasters which had befallen his troops in Switzerland and Holland, deserted the confederacy, and became one of the most ardent admirers of Bonaparte: the archduke Charles too, the

only warrior who as yet emulated the fame of Napoleon, was, by the ruinous influence of the Aulic council, which had constantly controlled his operations and thwarted his views, deprived of his command; while the imperial forces were led by the veteran Kray in Germany, and by Melas in Italy.

Campaign in Italy.

Napoleon's conquests had been visited with terrible retribution: a commander and a nation, who were generally despised as barbarians, had torn her laurels from the brow of France; and the march of the Russians in Italy had been over the wreck of her armies. In this emergency, Massena, styled 'the favorite child of fortune,' was sent across the Alps, with generals Soult, Oudinot, and Brune, to refix the national banners on the banks of the Po: but victory at length deserted her favorite, and Massena was finally driven within the ramparts of Genoa. Soult highly signalised himself in this retreat, by one of those efforts of gallantry which throw so much personal lustre on a commander: 20,000 Austrians had assailed his corps, which did not amount to 4000, at Montenotte; but the strength of this position gave him great advantage, and his troops long resisted the attack: toward evening, however, the rocks were found to be no longer tenable, and orders were given for an expeditious retreat to Genoa. The French had suffered much during the day; and at the commencement of their departure, the columns were thrown into dreadful confusion by the explosion of an ammunition waggon: the soldiers were already flying down the hills to certain slaughter; when Soult rushed to their front, snatched the colors of a regiment from the ensign, and, amidst a storm of fire, firmly planted it on the height which they had deserted: the action was irresistible; the men rushed back with shouts, and kept the Austrians at bay till night; under cover of which, Soult threw a reinforcement into the fortress of Savona, and marched with the rest of his troops to Genoa.[11] The siege of that city was now formed; and the Austrians, aware of

[11] See Vie de Maréchal Soult, par Alex. Sallé, Paris, 1834.

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Napoleon's preparations, pushed their advances with unusual rapidity; being powerfully assisted by a British squadron under admiral lord Keith. Massena, with 25,000 men, soon had no other alternative but to force his way through the enemy, or to surrender: but Soult, in this emergency, made a bold effort to act on the Austrian communications, and open the blockade: as a first step, he attacked their fortified post of Monte Creto; and leading on his division with great impetuosity, swept off the opposing piquets, and rushed into the enemy's camp: but fortune turned, as soon as the Austrians recovered from the first surprise. The French soldiery have been compared to the tiger,—victorious at the first impulse, or not at all: they here missed their spring, and attempted to retire: a desperate conflict then ensued in the midst of darkness, illuminated only by flashes of lightning; while torrents of rain put an end to the use of musketry: their brave commander fell by a wound which was supposed to be mortal, and his troops dispersed themselves in flight. Massena still defended the city with a vigor and resolution that have seldom been surpassed: famine alone induced him to sign a capitulation honorable to its defenders; and on the fourth of June, Genoa was evacuated.

Bonaparte now appeared to be the only arbiter into whose hands the destinies of France could safely be committed; and, being at the head of the executive power, he soon perceived which were the weak parts of the republic. Encouraged by late events, the royalists in Britany and Normandy had again risen in arms, to the number of 60,000 men: Napoleon's plan in this case was that of general conciliation; he expressed a desire of peace, not only with royalists, but even with emigrants; whom he invited by a proclamation to return: many constitutionalists, relying on the faith of government, daily came back to France; as well as numbers of those who fled in the time of Robespierre, or at the convulsion in 1797: many estates even were restored, so far as restitution did

not violate the new tenures of property: still the Chouans persisted in revolt; but in the beginning of this year the first consul detached a considerable portion of them from the confederacy; and when pacific measures did not succeed, he effectually employed force with the rest: early in spring, he had intirely crushed insurrection; and then, having established internal tranquillity, he made preparations for prosecuting the war.

In February, a proclamation was issued, complaining of the obstinacy of Great Britain in continuing hostilities, and inviting the French to furnish subsidies and men necessary for the acquisition of peace: at the same time it was deemed expedient that a force of 60,000 conscripts should be assembled at Dijon: of this the first consul intended to take the command himself; while its denomination of an 'army of reserve' was calculated to deceive the Austrians with regard to its future destination.

The state of affairs in Italy has been already described. On the side of Germany, Moreau commanded 100,000 men, extending from Switzerland to Mentz; his left wing being secured by Prussian neutrality, and his right by the Helvetic Alps; while his rear was protected by its communication with France and Belgium: this formidable host he directed toward Vienna, with the double purpose of making an impression on that quarter, and of drawing off the enemy's attention from the recovery of Italy. On the twenty-fifth of March, he crossed the Rhine in four divisions, and formed a junction of his forces in Suabia, with the lake of Constance on his right: by various manœuvres, he turned the right wing of the opposing army; and in a series of engagements, bravely contested on both sides, he was eventually so successful, that he commanded Franconia and Suabia on the left, laying both those countries under contributions, intercepting supplies, and destroying many magazines: in front, he occupied the attention of the whole Austrian army; and from his right, he was able to send detach-

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ments to the south: in this manner, for near two months, he kept his adversaries ignorant of his designs; alarmed them by marches and feigned irruptions, for the safety of their hereditary states; and prevented them from prosecuting effective operations in the Italian provinces.

At length, the time was come when Napoleon's presence was required: informed of the critical situation of Massena, he placed himself at the head of his troops in Burgundy, with an intention of passing the Alps, and descending on the rear of the Austrian army, which was now directed toward the Savoy Alps, in pursuit of Suchet: their commander, Melas, had his head-quarters at Alessandria; and thus his communications would be cut off, his plans deranged, his troops obliged to counter-march and take new positions, whilst a defeat would be ruin: these views of his antagonist were too bold to have entered into the Austrian's conception; and Bonaparte well knew the value of a surprise in warfare. On the sixth of May, the first consul left Paris; and on the fifteenth, his army reached the Great Saint Bernard; when the soldiers, inspired with an enthusiastic admiration of their general, quickly surmounted all the difficulties of that Alpine region, which was considered pervious only to foot passengers and mules: dismounting the artillery, they placed their guns in troughs hollowed out of trees; and these were drawn by 500 or 600 men, according to the size of the piece: the wheels, fixed on poles, were carried on their shoulders; and tumbrils were placed with their axle-trees on sledges: even in May, the winter is still unmitigated in those wild regions; while the dangers and difficulties of ice and snow are terribly increased by the constant fury of the whirlwind: a large sum of money had been transmitted to the monks of the convent, to provide refreshment for the exhausted soldiers; and thus relieved, they resumed their toils with alacrity toward the valley of Aosta, till they arrived at the little fortress of Bard, which, by the strength of its position, stopped

the march: it was summoned and cannonaded, but in vain; during the darkness of the night, however, the road beneath was strewed with straw, over which the cannon silently passed: had its commander, by opening his fire, delayed their advance much longer, all the advantages of surprise might have been lost to the invaders. Bonaparte, following the course of the Dora and the Po, entered Milan and Pavia, having seized all the letters passing between Melas and the Aulic council.

Napoleon arrives in Italy.

Established in Milan, and waiting for reinforcements from the army of Switzerland, he despatched his different generals to seize the towns on the Po; while Murat, in capturing Piacenza, intercepted a courier with tidings of the fall of Genoa: this misfortune left Napoleon no object but that of giving battle to Melas, who had concentrated his forces at Alessandria; while those which had reduced Genoa, marched to surprise the advanced posts of the French as they passed the Po: but these were met by Lannes at Montebello, and driven back on Melas, with a loss of 5000 men; an omen of the terrible slaughter about to ensue.

The French army now took a very strong position at Stadella, in order that Suchet might close on the rear of the Austrians, while Massena brought up his liberated garrison. As Melas showed no signs of movement, and Bonaparte feared that he might escape by marching northward toward Pavia, or southward toward Genoa, he determined to descend into the plains of Marengo, though he gave an advantage to his adversaries, who were on the other side of the Bormida, and at liberty either to attack or defend the course of that river: so little activity, however, did Melas exhibit, that Napoleon detached Desaix, on his left, to prevent any movement of his antagonist in the direction of Genoa; but at that moment, the Austrian had decided, in a council of war, that the only mode of reaching Genoa in safety was by a battle.

Battle of Marengo.

On the morning of the fourteenth of June, the Austrians crossed the river over three bridges, and

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found the French, not drawn up in line, but thrown back in separate divisions, at considerable intervals, extending from Marengo, the village nearest the Bormida, to their head-quarters at San Giuliano: at the former point the first attack was made; but the imperialists, instead of marching boldly to the charge, deployed, planted batteries, and endeavored to effect by the fire of artillery what an assault might have carried at once; and this afforded time for Bonaparte to recall Desaix: the right and left of the Austrians, however, composed chiefly of superb cavalry, swept all obstacles before them; and then, turning toward the centre at Marengo, expelled the enemy, and threw them into great confusion; so that Melas, thinking the battle won, and having sent a large body of cavalry to meet the advance of Suchet, retired to Alessandria in order to write his despatches: Napoleon, however, was preparing to make a stand at San Giuliano, and avenge his previous defeat: there Desaix joined him, and applauded his resolve; the artillery was placed in one tremendous battery, commanding the high road, along which the Austrians moved in column, as to certain victory, commanded by general Zach, in the absence of Melas.

As the imperialists advanced, the battery was unmasked, and swept their ranks; while Desaix led up his fresh division on one side; and Kellerman, on the other, with a brigade of cavalry, was looking for an opportunity to charge: he soon found it; cut through the column; recharged, and traversed it several times with such slaughter, that the foremost division, with its commander Zach, laid down their arms: the rest then fled in utter confusion across the wide plain of Marengo, toward the bridges, pursued and slaughtered by the victorious foe. The brave Desaix had fallen by a musket-ball at the moment of his advance; but the charge of young Kellerman was the decisive movement; and when Napoleon, after the battle, exhibited so much jealousy, as to offer lukewarm praise to the brave officer who directed it, by calling

it 'opportune,' the answer was,—'Opportune, indeed; for it has placed the crown on your head.'

The consequences of this short campaign were as important as those of the long struggle in 1796: all the conquests of Suwarrof were lost in a day: Alessandria was taken; Genoa was re-occupied; the Austrians, entering into an armistice, retired behind the Mincio; and Napoleon returned in triumph to Paris, after proclaiming his resolve that Lombardy with Liguria should form one powerful republic; and establishing a provisional administration at Milan. On the fourteenth of July he celebrated the anniversary of the revolution in the Champ de Mars; and on that spot, where deputies from all parts of France had met to swear solemn vows to liberty, a military dictator now appeared, in the midst of his guards, bearing the Austrian standards taken at Marengo: the acclamations of the people were the same at both epochs; for in Napoleon, the overturner of ancient dynasties, the conqueror of their ancient foes, and remodeller of their decayed constitution, they still saw the representative of what they called liberty and the revolution.

In the mean time, as the imperial army opposed to Moreau, had retired before that general from Ulm toward Bavaria, the French took possession of Munich, and laid the country under heavy contributions: at the same time, the right wing, under Lecourbe, drove the Austrians from the Grisons, and entered the Tyrol; while, on the left, a new army of French and Batavians were preparing to penetrate into Franconia and Bohemia. The court of Vienna, generally more vigorous under adverse than prosperous fortune, animated also by the exhortations and supplies of Great Britain, had hitherto refused all terms offered by the enemy: but as he now menaced the very heart of their dominions, it was judged expedient to sue for an armistice; which Moreau, with Bonaparte's sanction, granted on the fourteenth of July. On the twenty-eighth of the same month, preliminaries of

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peace, on the basis of that of Campo Formio, were signed at Paris; but the emperor, meanwhile, had received his subsidy from England, and concluded a new treaty with that power; the chief article of which prohibited either of the contracting parties from making peace without the other: adhering, therefore, to this engagement, the Austrian court endeavored to include its ally in the negotiation; but Napoleon's policy was to detach members from the confederacy, so that he threw insurmountable obstacles in the way of this proposal; and his imperial majesty refused to ratify the preliminaries, alleging that the Austrian envoy, St. Julien, had exceeded his powers. As the armistice was to expire on the seventh of September, he put himself at the head of his army, and endeavored to rouse the whole force of Germany in defence of the empire: but the north was kept inactive by the adverse neutrality of Prussia; while other weak princes were intimidated by their formidable invaders: his imperial majesty then proposed a prolongation of the armistice for the space of forty-five days; and this was granted only on the delivery of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, as securities: it expired; and, late as the season was, both parties took the field. Moreau was on the banks of the Iser; the imperialists, under the archduke John, on those of the Inn—a good line of defence, which they unfortunately quitted, and marched to the attack through wretched roads, rendered worse by November weather. At the first encounter, Ney was driven back with considerable loss; and this gleam of success emboldened the archduke to advance through the forest of Ebersburg, against Moreau, who lay at Hohenlinden: he had, however, no sooner begun to march, than a heavy shower of snow and sleet so retarded his troops, that the centre column alone arrived at its place of destination: it was met, issuing from the forest, by the divisions of Ney and Grouchy; while another corps, conducted by Richepanse, passing between it and the Austrian left wing, attacked it in the rear: a total defeat and surrender of the centre

Battle of Hohenlinden.

ensued; when the rest of the army was utterly routed and put to flight: the battle of Hohenlinden would not have taken place had the archduke Charles commanded; but that prince was in disgrace for having recommended peace. The contest was now decided: the British court sensible of the alarming situation in which the emperor was placed, released him from his engagements: he then renewed his negotiations with the first consul; and the treaty of Luneville followed; little differing from that of Campo Formio, except that Tuscany was now taken from an Austrian archduke, and given to a Spanish prince of Parma, who assumed the title of king of Etruria:[12] Italy resumed its republican forms of government under French protection; the Rhine being still the boundary of France on the side of Germany: southern Italy was treated by the first consul with leniency; his forbearance being solicited by the Russian emperor, whose friendship would have been considered worth preserving at a much greater price. Rome also experienced similar favor; the new pope, Chiaramonte, who assumed the name of Pius VII., being allowed to retain the reins of government: the consul, with the instinct of a future sovereign, meditated an alliance between church and state.

Treaty of Luneville.

While Bonaparte was thus crushing every hope that Great Britain derived from continental struggles, this country undertook several expeditions, in which her naval power was enabled to act, either independently, or in co-operation with her military forces. A squadron, under sir Edward Pellew, in the Impetueux, having silenced several forts on the south-west of the peninsula of Quiberon, a party of soldiers landed, and destroyed them: an attack was afterwards made on various posts; six brigs, sloops, and gun-boats were taken; a corvette burned; a fort dismantled; and supplies, destined for the Brest fleet, intercepted: the whole of this service was performed with the loss of

Naval operations of Great Britain.

[12] For this, Spain ceded to France, Louisiana, which was subsequently purchased from France by the United States of America.

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two men killed on board the Thames frigate, and one in the boats; but it was ascertained, that the French royalists were not strong enough to warrant a descent on the coast, for which 5000 men had been sent, under the command of general Maitland. Sir Edward then proposed an immediate attack on Belleisle, from a conviction that nothing would enable the British to harass their foes more effectually than the possession of that island; but the general, not having so intimate a knowlege of the place, and aware of the difficulty and loss which a much larger force had formerly experienced in taking it, objected to the attempt; and the enemy in a few days settled the question, by strongly reinforcing its garrison: the troops were then landed on the small island of Houat, about two leagues south of Quiberon point, where they remained encamped, while the squadron cruised off Port Louis. On the eighth of July, an attempt was made to capture or destroy four frigates in the road of Dunkirk; one of which, La Désirée, fell into the hands of captain Campbell, of the Dart: but an exploit, performed about this time by Mr. Coghlan, acting lieutenant in the Viper cutter, excited great admiration, as an instance of the signal intrepidity and prowess which are found united in British seamen. This young gentleman, being off Port Louis, obtained sir Edward Pellew's permission to cut out some vessels at the entrance of the harbor; and made the attempt in a ten-oared cutter, with a midshipman and eighteen sailors, on the night of the twenty-ninth of July. Rowing up to a gun-brig, mounting three twenty-four pounders and four six pounders, with a complement of eighty-seven men, within pistol-shot of three batteries, and not a mile from a seventy-four-gun ship and a frigate, they boarded her, and charged the enemy; who made a gallant resistance, repeatedly driving back their assailants: but this handful of Britons as often returned to the charge; and, with a loss of one killed and eight wounded, including the commander himself, made prize of the brig, and carried her off in triumph.

So brilliant an action was rewarded with peculiar notice: the squadron unanimously gave up the prize to its captors; earl St. Vincent presented Mr. Coghlan with a sword; and he was immediately made lieutenant by an order of council, though he had still one year and a half to serve. On the coast of Africa, the forts of Goree surrendered to a small squadron under sir Charles Hamilton; and the island of Curacao in the West Indies, one of the few remaining colonies of the Batavian republic, placed itself voluntarily under British protection. In August, a squadron under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, with a military force under sir James Pulteney, arrived at the isle of Houat; re-embarked the British troops; and, being joined by the Impetueux, proceeded to the coast of Spain, for the purpose of attacking Ferrol: the fleet arrived in the bay of Playa de Dominos on the twenty-fifth; and the troops were immediately landed, under cover of the Impetueux, assisted by the Brilliant and Cynthia sloops of war, with the St. Vincent gun-boat: their fire soon silenced a fort, mounting eight twenty-four pounders; and sixteen field-pieces being also landed, the sailors dragged them, together with scaling ladders, to the heights above Ferrol: a slight skirmish took place on the first advance of the troops, and a sharper affair next morning; but the enemy were driven back; and the heights, commanding the town and harbor, were completely gained, with a loss of only sixteen killed and sixty-eight wounded. The British troops saw moored below them six large ships of the line, which they already accounted as prizes, when sir James Pulteney resolved to abandon the enterprise: sir Edward Pellew entreated that he might be allowed to make the attack with his sailors only; for he felt confident that the town would yield: but the general, forming a different estimate of difficulties, and believing that the place could not be taken without a delay and loss which might interfere with the ulterior objects of the expedition, persevered in his determination, and re-embarked his troops without loss, the same night:

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the squadron then escorted them to Gibraltar, to join the force already collected there; but it was afterwards ascertained, that the garrison of Ferrol, in despair of making effectual resistance, had been prepared to surrender the keys of that city.[13]

Sir Ralph Abercrombie, with an army of about 20,000 men, and a fleet of twenty ships of the line, commanded by lord Keith, having appeared off Cadiz while a pestilential disease was raging, the governor sent a letter to the British admiral, deprecating an attack under such circumstances; but his lordship replied, that, as the ships in harbor were intended to increase the naval power of France, it could be averted only by their surrender: the governor, however, rejected this requisition; and, as the army had a more important object in view, the intention of attacking Cadiz was also abandoned; and the fleet proceeded to the Mediterranean. One detachment landed its troops at Minorca, which had lately been captured from Spain, there to wait for the ulterior objects of the expedition; while the other sailed toward Malta, in order to co-operate in the reduction of that island.

Malta captured by the British.

Malta had been blockaded since the autumn of 1798; and, though it was anxious to shake off the yoke of the French, possession of the forts secured the latter against popular insurrection: rear-admiral Pérée attempted to relieve the garrison, in the Généreux, attended by three frigates, but was captured on the coast of Sicily. When provisions became very scarce in the island, the Guillaume Tell, the only ship of the line now left to the French from the fleet which fought at Aboukir, attempted to escape; but she was gallantly pursued and attacked by the Penelope frigate, captain Blackwood, who carried away her main and mizen top-masts; and by captain Dixon, of the Lion, sixty-four, who, with only 300 men on board, placed his ship under the bow of the finest two-decker in the world, carrying 1220 men: this enabled sir Edward Berry, in the Foudroyant, of eighty guns, to come up,

[13] See Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 204.

and act, as lord Nelson observed, 'with that matchless intrepidity and able conduct, which he had remarked in many trying situations.'[14] The Foudroyant was laid so close alongside her adversary, that her spare anchor was but just clear of the other's main chains: sir Edward hailed, and desired her to strike; but the French admiral Décrès answered only by brandishing a sword, and by a broadside; the action thus began; and both ships were soon in such a state, that they separated, as unmanageable, to repair damages: the fight then recommenced, and the French admiral nailed his colors to the mast; nor did he strike, before all his masts and rigging were shot away, and his ship lay like a log on the water, with 400 of her crew killed or wounded: two frigates afterwards retired from Malta, with part of its garrison on board; but one was taken; and the other alone escaped of all the ships which had composed the Egyptian expedition. Despairing of relief, general Vaubois now offered to capitulate: the conditions were accepted; the troops were permitted to return to France, on the condition of not serving till regularly exchanged; and Malta, that great citadel of the Mediterranean, like Gibraltar its key, became an appendage of the British empire.

Events in Egypt.

Napoleon left Egypt, at the close of 1799, and the chief command of his army to general Kleber; which officer, in prosecution of Bonaparte's own design, entered into negotiations with the Ottoman commander to evacuate the country, on condition that the French troops were permitted to return unmolested to Europe. This convention, which was signed on the twenty-fourth of January, being referred to sir Sidney Smith by the Turks, was guaranteed by him; but the

[14] 'I thank God,' said his lordship, 'I was not present; I would not take a sprig of those brave men's laurels: they are my children, in whom I glory: they served in my school; and all of us caught our professional zeal and fire from the great and good earl St. Vincent.' Sir Edward was also engaged in the capture of his old antagonist, Le Généreux; and when the officers and crew, by whom he had been plundered of all his property, applied to him to be allowed to retain their clothes, he good-humoredly reminded them of their base conduct to himself, by saying, 'Yes; and you may keep my own also;' which some of them were actually wearing.

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British cabinet, not aware of sir Sidney's share in the transaction, and thinking that it would be highly impolitic to liberate so large a force to act against the emperor, their ally, instructed lord Keith not to ratify it: accordingly, that admiral sent a letter to Kleber, acquainting him that he had received orders to reject any capitulation, unless he should surrender his troops prisoners of war, not to go to France until exchanged; and should deliver up all ships and stores in the port of Alexandria. Kleber, indignant at this unexpected message, apprised the Turks that the convention was at an end: hostilities recommenced, and some considerable advantages were gained by the French; but, after he had dispersed the army of the grand vizir, and quelled an insurrection in Cairo, that excellent officer was assassinated by a Turkish emissary, leaving the command to general Menou, a man in all respects his inferior: from this time the negotiation appears to have been discontinued, and Menou to have resolved on defending Egypt to the last. Such was the situation of affairs in the East: in the West the prospect was more discouraging for Great Britain: France had now reduced the continent of Europe almost to a state of vassalage; while the emperor Paul, having broken his connexion with England, and complaining of her maritime encroachments, labored to re-establish among the northern powers that armed neutrality, which had been a favorite scheme in his mother's policy.

Riots in England.

At home, the year was still distinguished by an exorbitant price of all the necessaries of life: the evil was borne patiently till harvest commenced; and then prices fell with considerable rapidity: but about September, when it was still believed that the crop was abundant, bread again rose, and reports were circulated that this calamity proceeded from forestallers and monopolisers, combining to enrich themselves by the public distress, and facilitating their combinations by means of an increased paper currency. Hence riots and other violent proceedings took place throughout the kingdom, and London was terribly agitated; but

Mr. Combe, the lord mayor, by aid of the volunteers, succeeded in repressing commotions without bloodshed.

Negotiations for peace.

As our government, during negotiations between France and Austria, had intimated to the latter power a desire of being included in a treaty of peace, the first consul authorised M. Otto, a gentleman employed in England as agent for the exchange of prisoners, to propose a truce between the French and British forces by land and sea. The answer returned by our cabinet was, that it was ready to send a plenipotentiary to a congress; but that no maritime armistice had ever been established between France and England during any negotiation; and that such a step, by giving rise to disputes, might obstruct rather than promote a pacification: M. Otto answered, that an English armistice would be only an equivalent to France, for the obvious disadvantages of prolonging the Austrian truce. The armistice proposed to England, as a joint negotiator with Austria, was, that the ships of Great Britain and France should enjoy freedom of navigation as before the war; that Belleisle, Malta, and Alexandria should be placed in a state similar to that of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt; vessels being allowed to supply the garrisons with stores; while the British fleets should draw off from Flushing, Cadiz, Brest, and Toulon. Lord Grenville, after dwelling on the manifest disadvantage of this scheme to England, proposed a counter-project more equitable; prohibiting all means of defence from entering Malta, or any Egyptian port, while the necessaries of life might be introduced from time to time; and discontinuing the blockade of Brest and other French ports, provided no military or naval stores were conveyed thither by sea, and the ships of war in them were not removed to any other station. The French government, not satisfied with such proposals, offered this alternative:—if Great Britain would agree to a separate negotiation, her scheme should be adopted; but if she insisted on a general negotiation, she must

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abide by the French proposition. Lord Grenville still adhered to his own terms, and M. Otto declared the discussion at an end; adding, however, that the first consul was ready to receive any overture for a separate peace: but to this proposal the British government gave an honorable and decisive negative.

A domestic occurrence took place this year which requires notice from the historian, quite as much as a battle or a foreign negotiation; being connected with an example of moral courage and philanthropic views, at one of those periods, when persons of weaker nerves and instinct shrink from exertions which may appear at the moment unprofitable to others, and inconvenient or dangerous to themselves. At this time very little amelioration had been made in criminal law: the gallows-tree at every assize was crowded with victims, who paid the forfeit of life for theft, forgery, arson, and various other offences; whilst every attempt made to mitigate the severity of our code was met with declarations such as these—that no other means existed but the fear of death to restrain men from the commission of atrocious crimes—that its infliction was sanctioned by the written word of God—and that although our laws might be severe, the execution of them was conducted with discretion and tempered by mercy: at the period in question prison discipline was unknown—the principles of morality were very imperfectly understood; when the pulpit resounded more with discourses drawn from the old than the new Testament—and few persons saw, or cared to see, the cruelty of leaving mercy to the caprice or character of individuals.[15] The following was the incident which has given occasion for the foregoing observations.

On the morning of Friday, October 4, 1799, a fire broke out in the premises of a Mrs. Syer, of Hadleigh; and soon afterwards a young girl, named Sarah Lloyd, her servant, and Joseph Clarke, the supposed accom-

[15] The shameful manner in which warrants for execution were passed over by the privy council, is strongly illustrated by a passage in the Life of Lord Eldon, on whom the transaction then related reflects infinite credit.—See vol. i. p. 399.

plice of the latter, were committed to prison for setting fire to, and robbing the house. On Monday, March 24, 1800, they were tried at Bury St. Edmund's; not for incendiarism, but merely for stealing in a dwelling-house above the value of forty shillings; when Clarke was acquitted and the girl was capitally convicted. The judge, in passing sentence, warned her strongly against entertaining any hope of mercy, and fixed the time of execution for the ninth of April: on that day, however, the crowd who had assembled to witness the horrid scene were disappointed; for it was given out, that certain circumstances had transpired favorable to the culprit; and that the execution was deferred until his majesty's pleasure could be ascertained: the fact was, that Mr. Capel Lofft, a county magistrate, and a benevolent though eccentric person, being made acquainted with those extenuating circumstances, and being also averse to the often-abused punishment of death, had prevailed on the under-sheriff to stay the execution; while a petition for mercy, signed by himself and the rev. Dr. Drummond of Hadleigh, was transmitted to the duke of Portland, then home secretary of state. It would, perhaps, be hard to ascribe the rejection of this petition to the liberal principles known to be entertained by Mr. Lofft, and which at this period were generally confounded with jacobinical or revolutionary views; but, at all events, a severe rebuke was sent to the two gentlemen who had thus interfered with the administration of the law; and an order was transmitted to the sheriff to see execution done upon Sarah Lloyd, on Wednesday the twenty-third. When the fatal day arrived which was to give to the law its victim, Mr. Lofft ascended the cart in which she sat, and made a very impressive speech to the multitude, justifying what the under-sheriff had done, ascribing the poor girl's present situation to the artifices of the villain who had escaped; rejoicing in the belief, that the time she had gained for repentance had been so spent as to be the prelude to her future bliss, and anticipating the period when the severity of our inhuman laws would be modified. For this

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conduct he was struck out of the commission of the peace; when he retired to his seat of Troston-Hall, where conscious integrity supported him under the load of obloquy to which he was exposed, as an enemy to all order and good government. It is to be regretted that he did not throw up his commission as a magistrate before he interfered in the cause of humanity, and then there would have been no clashing of duties in the case: but we must make some allowance for the imperfections of human nature; while we reflect that great evils in society demand the bold exertions of generous and daring spirits. It may also be remarked, that in March, this year, came out the popular poem of 'The Farmer's Boy,' under the patronage of Mr. Capel Lofft; and that the stern judge who sentenced poor Sarah Lloyd, most probably was the same Macdonald who, at the summer assize, received that cutting rebuke from another female, whom he condemned to death; and whom he actually transported for life, for an act which she did not know to be a crime; and which his own cruel inattention to her circumstances led her to commit.[15]

Parliamentary precautions against scarcity.

The last British parliament assembled on the tenth of November, in order to despatch its most urgent business before the meeting of the united legislature. To alleviate public distress, the dangerous measure of a *maximum* was brought forward by the earl of Warwick; proposing to fix the price of a bushel of wheat at ten shillings, though it was actually selling for twenty: but the mischievous notion of an artificial scarcity was exploded by the wisdom of parliament; and this motion was rejected. In considering the present dearth, the first point to be ascertained was, whether there was a deficiency in the crop: committees were appointed to investigate facts; and their report stated that it was defective by about one-fourth: to supply this, a majority in both houses proposed to encourage the importation of corn and rice; to pre-

[15] See the Life of Margaret Catchpole, so admirably edited by the Rev. R. Cobbold; a book which, above all others, shews that the romance of imagination may be surpassed by the romance of real life.

vent any export of grain; and to diminish its consumption by substitutes and economy: acts were passed, enjoining the use of mixed and inferior kinds of bread, and giving bounties for importation; the distillation of spirits from grain was also suspended; and, greatly to the honor of our nation, the hand of charity was liberally opened. In discussing the late negotiations, a great majority commended the resolution of government not to conclude a separate peace; though opposition members predicted that Great Britain would be ultimately compelled to accede to such a plan. The supplies having been voted, parliament was prorogued, on the last day of the year, by his majesty in person.

END OF VOL. IV.

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